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THE ROYAL TITLE.

THE dislike generally entertained to the QUEEN being called Empress is so strong that the CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER spoke of it on Thursday as a panic. This may be a good or a bad term to use in speaking of this particular outburst of public feeling, but it at least closes the discussion as to whether the feeling is general and strong. The grounds of a panic may be mistaken, but it would be absurd to speak of a panic on the Stock Exchange without meaning that there was a general alarm among speculators. There being this strong feeling, how was expression to be given to it in the House of Commons? Unfortunately, when the strong feeling is against a Ministerial proposal, there is often no practical means of giving vent to it, except by the leader of the Opposition becoming the organ of its expression. Immediately a totally new question is raised, and the supporters of the Ministry say that, if the matter is to be treated as one involving a triumph or defeat of their party, they will sink every other thought in the determination to crush the Opposition. It became a trial of strength between Mr. DISRAELI and Lord HARTINGTON, and Mr. DISRAELI, having a large majority willing to follow him, used it, and Lord HARTINGTON was crushed. But it would not be accurate to say that the majority was composed altogether of members who voted merely to support the Ministry. There were several motives which combined to actuate the majority. There was the feeling that, having gone so far as to pass the second reading, the House was not justified in refusing altogether the title of Empress; the feeling that if the Bill was a favour to India, a favour having been offered should not be withheld; the feeling that we must not shrink from proclaiming our intention to retain supreme command over India; and, above all, the hope that somehow the title of Empress might be happily confined to India, and that we in England should never be troubled with anything to remind us that the QUEEN was anything but Queen. Whatever turn the debate had taken, it is probable that the vote would have been the same, but in point of fact the debate was very useful. The Ministry have at last, after many wandering guesses, arrived at a tolerably clear view of what they think the title of Empress of India means, why they think it should be assumed, and why the evil consequences generally apprehended are not likely to flow from it. The meaning of the title is said to be that the QUEEN is paramount sovereign in India; the reason for the title being assumed is that it is convenient that this supremacy, which is a fact, should be publicly proclaimed in order that the princes of India may know, and that all others concerned may know, their true position, and that every native of India, from the highest to the lowest, may clearly understand that, having got dominion over them, England intends to keep it. And the reason why no evils are likely to be felt in England are that the reasons for calling the QUEEN Empress can only apply to India, and are such as necessarily to localize the title. The intention to retain by the sword supreme dominion obtained by the sword cannot, it is argued with some force, be a thing which any one can consider it desirable to announce with regard to England itself or to the Colonies. The QUEEN is not taking a new title in order to describe more accurately whom she rules and where she rules, but to inform one particular portion of her subjects that she rules them in a particular way, and that this is the way in which she purposes that they shall be ruled for an incalculable length of time.

Two questions accordingly have to be answered. Is the word Empress a correct title if confined exclusively to

India? and is it expedient that, if accurate, it should be assumed? We must own that it does seem an accurate title. Emperor is an apt expression for a sovereign who is sovereign of other sovereigns. There was much discussion in the House as to the relation of the Indian chiefs to the English Crown, and it was pointed out that many of the chiefs, if not all, have accepted the position they hold under treaties with us. But there is nothing inconsistent in saying that a sovereign may by contract undertake to recognize another sovereign as his paramount lord; and, whether by custom, or by express stipulation, or by our interpretation of stipulations in which the chiefs have been forced to acquiesce, the relation of the chiefs to the English Crown has come to be exactly that of dependent sovereigns to a supreme sovereign. The nature of this dependency is very real and complete. As Mr. GRANT DUFF truly said, there is not a single Indian prince who would think of denying that the QUEEN is paramount in India. The native States are obliged to act with the Viceroy in all matters considered by him to affect India generally; none of these States are allowed to make treaties, either with foreign Powers or each other. All have to submit to our interference so far as we think proper to exercise it; and the recent instance of Baroda may remind us how very summarily the right of interference is occasionally exercised. That it is now expedient that a title should be assumed distinctly proclaiming this sovereignty, is asserted on the following grounds. It is convenient that the claim of paramount sovereignty should be made, in order that the native princes may once for all understand their position, and that when we exercise our paramount rights we should not seem to be doing something extraordinary and occasional, but something natural, regular, and necessary. When, for example, we depose a Gaikwar, or require several medical certificates to excuse the non-attendance of the infant NIZAM to pay homage to the PRINCE OF WALES, it is convenient that we should be understood not to be momentarily capricious or exacting, but to be merely carrying out a settled and accepted policy. In the next place, our dominion in India is so strange and new that speculative natives might be tempted to ask whether we ourselves really and in the bottom of our hearts think it can last. This is a doubt or suspicion from which it is thought very desirable that the native mind should be relieved, and we therefore now proclaim in a significant way that, having forced our way into India, we mean to stay there. England wishes to let all the world know that she adopts with regard to India the words of Marshal MACMAHON—"J'y suis, et j'y reste." Lastly, it is said that this significant proclamation of ours will be most acceptable to the natives generally. It is difficult of course to prove this. Lord SALISBURY said on Tuesday that the natives are politically dumb. Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE defined their position with more delicacy of distinction. They are not exactly dumb, nor do they exactly speak; but the word Empress is "trembling on their lips," and our apprehension or interpretation of the nascent sound may be helped by our general knowledge of the propensities of the native mind. The natives like to think that there is some one over every one else. They love to live under a strong enduring Government. If they use a title, they like it to be a good big rolling title, a title that fills their mouths when they have got over their difficulties of articulation. If they bow, they like to bow to the ground. We may choose to consider these propensities somewhat servile. It is simpler, the Government reply, to call them merely Oriental, and to recognize them. It is a most happy coincidence that we can afford the natives a peculiarly Oriental description of pleasure at the same

time that we take a step which it suits us to take for our own special purposes.

It must be acknowledged that this final Ministerial exposition of the meaning of the title of Empress and of the reasons for its being assumed disposes of some of the objections which were suggested by the earlier and less considered language of the Government. At first it seemed to be suggested that the assumption of the title was an honour and a favour to India. To this it was objected, with a force which seems to have convinced the Ministry, that to use the title of Empress was not an honour or a favour to any one, as it is a title which, if applied to England, we should equally dislike and despise, and that its only possible effect would be to provoke a reaction from the loyalty of sober respect and modest attachment. It would tend to introduce into England the contest raging elsewhere between Imperialism and democracy. All these sombre forebodings are vain, the Ministry reply, for Empress is to be purely an Indian title. For England it would be a most objectionable title, but in England and Europe it will never be heard of. This may be true, but it seems to us very improbable, unless very stringent precautions are taken to guard against this title, so objectionable for us, spreading like the cholera from the Ganges to the Thames. Very nice questions will arise, as Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT pointed out, half English, half Indian; such as that of the style to be used in appeals to the Privy Council, in deciding which great care will have to be used, lest the title should be carried beyond its local boundaries. Parliament may do something to institute the necessary precautions. It can express in general terms that the title is to be kept strictly local; and the Ministry can expressly declare, as indeed Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE has declared, that they pass the Bill on the understanding that, so far as they are concerned, they will do everything in their power to keep the title purely local. But, after all, the greatest safeguard must rest in the discretion and good sense and high feeling of the QUEEN. It is she who can most effectually repress the servilities of the vulgar. It is she who can best make it understood that, for herself and her children, she knows of nothing higher than the title she has inherited from her ancestors and endeared to her people.

#### HERZEGOVINA.

THE result of the attempts which have been made to restore peace in Herzegovina is still uncertain. One of the Commissioners whom the Porte has despatched into the disturbed districts is an Albanian Christian, formerly a follower of GARIBALDI in Sicily, and bearing a high repute for vigour and ability. The Austrian Government, which is believed to be sincerely desirous of peace, has entrusted the negotiations with the insurgents and with Montenegro to Baron RODICH, Governor of Dalmatia, who is said to have shared the sympathies of the inhabitants of his province for the kindred race in the Turkish territories. Baron RODICH was, before he commenced his mission, summoned to Vienna to receive his instructions in person; and there is no doubt that he will loyally adhere to the policy of his Government. It was reasonably supposed that his well-known feelings would give him influence with the insurgents, and secure their confidence in any promises which he may have been authorized to make. His first visit was paid to Prince NICHOLAS of Montenegro, with the object, as it is supposed, of convincing him that it is necessary to submit to the decision of the Great Powers. If reports may be trusted, the PRINCE has given the required assurances of his pacific disposition, though, if the civil war continues, he may probably be unable, if not unwilling, to prevent his subjects from crossing the frontier to aid the struggle. From Montenegro Baron RODICH proceeded to Herzegovina, where he met some of the insurgent chiefs. As might have been expected, they remonstrated against the proposal that they should lay down their arms; but they were informed that the Austrian Government would at an early date withdraw its allowance to the refugees, and that Serbia would not be allowed to exercise independent action. For the present the insurgents or their leaders assert in forcible language their resolution not to submit on any terms to the restoration of Turkish rule. A protest or declaration, which they have published through the active and intelligent Correspondent of the *Times*, is significant as well as amusing in the simplicity of its compliments to all possible patrons and allies. While the chiefs proclaim their unalterable resolution to

continue the contest, they profess to believe that England has discovered that by protecting Turkey it has, metaphorically, cherished a serpent in its bosom. The illustrious Liberator GARIBALDI is mentioned with equal honour, and probably with more genuine gratitude; but expressions of confidence, which are probably not altogether formal, are reserved for Russia. It would be unreasonable to criticize an estimate of the policy of different Governments which may perhaps not be altogether unfounded.

It is not to be inferred from the strong language of the insurgent leaders that even immediate pacification is hopeless. As long as a continuance of the insurrection is possible, it would be unwise to check the enthusiasm of their followers by any expression of doubt. A display of readiness to treat would deprive the insurgents of all chance of assistance from Serbia or from Montenegro, and it appears that hopes have also been entertained of success in the field. As usual, it is impossible to rely on either of two conflicting or contradictory accounts of a recent combat. The insurgents professed to have defeated four Turkish regiments, and to have inflicted on them a loss of eight hundred men. The official report from Constantinople reduces the number to eighty, and attributes to the insurgents a much heavier loss. Later accounts tend to confirm the first report of a considerable success on the part of the insurgents. The rumour of a revolution in Serbia has not been confirmed; but the manifesto of the insurgents renders some combination of the kind not improbable. It was said that a Republic had been proclaimed in the political capital of the principality; and it is remarkable that the insurgents complain in sufficiently intelligible language of the backwardness of Prince MILAN. Notwithstanding their courteous and deferential phrases, the insurgent chiefs perhaps fail to appreciate the power or the resolution of the Governments which were parties to Count ANDRASSY'S communication. As to their own determination to prefer death to submission, heroic flourishes are not to be literally construed. Resistance by the most warlike population must come to an end before the last extremity. The more rational leaders can scarcely think it possible to exterminate their Mussulman neighbours and fellow-countrymen. Denunciations of Turkish hordes, and demands that they should be driven back to Asia, are worthier of sympathizing spectators than of combatants compelled to be in earnest. One of the best known of the chiefs has been within a few days baffled in an attempt to enter Bosnia for the purpose of extending the range of the rebellion; and he was arrested on his return into Herzegovina. Professions of disbelief in the sincerity of Turkish promises and in the power of the Government to redress grievances are probably sincere; but, if prolonged resistance is seen to be hopeless, the insurgents will choose their opportunity of submitting while they may still hope for the benefit of an amnesty practically guaranteed by the Great Powers.

According to the account of the *Times'* Correspondent, Baron RODICH admitted that his advice had produced no impression, and the insurgent chiefs professed to have been satisfied with his language and demeanour; yet it is impossible to suppose that the long discussions which resulted in Count ANDRASSY'S Note will be allowed to remain fruitless. The same motives which induced Austria and Russia to undertake a joint intervention will continue to operate. The moderate language of the Note was intended to facilitate the acceptance of its substance by the Porte, but not to indicate undue confidence in the performance of any promises which might be made. Although the demands of the Imperial Governments were not accompanied by direct menace, it was necessarily implied that the alternative of submission would be dangerous. The Porte was reminded that former engagements had been violated, and that it was necessary that henceforth verbal concessions should have a practical effect. It is evident that the continuance of the insurrection would indefinitely postpone the execution of the promised reforms, and the Imperial Governments will not willingly furnish the Turkish Government with an excuse for evading its obligations. It is therefore probable that the pressure imposed on Montenegro by Austrian agents is applied in earnest; but there may perhaps be in that quarter some divergence between the policy of Austria and of Russia. The rumours of a desire on the part of the Prince of MONTENEGRO to obtain an extension of his dominions have lately been revived. The inhabitants of the mountain principality have long desired to acquire additional pasture ground in the plains, and they also wish



for an outlet to the sea. It is said that Russia favours the proposal, while Austria objects to competition with the Dalmatian ports, and perhaps apprehends a design on the part of Russia to obtain through a dependent State access to the Adriatic. The Austrian Government will not have been conciliated by the appeals of the insurgents of Herzegovina to the political and religious sympathies of Russia. In their published address to foreign nations they contrast the liberality of the Russian Government in furnishing their churches and providing vestments for their clergy with the indifference of other Powers to the oppression of the Turks and to the sufferings of the rayahs. Beginners in diplomacy have not yet learned that in international negotiations, as in private intercourse, it is difficult to express a preference which will not in some other direction convey a corresponding slight.

On the whole it is desirable that the insurrection should come to an end, because the chances are against its success in the disturbed districts, and also because the expulsion of the Mahometan population of Herzegovina would be the beginning of a formidable civil war in all the other provinces of European Turkey. It is too probable that the promised reforms will be unsatisfactory both through administrative negligence or bad faith and in consequence of the inevitable resistance of the Mahometan population; but it may be hoped that there will be some improvement, and that the repeated recognition of the rights of the Christians will not be wholly nugatory. The insurgents may fairly take the credit of having extorted the concessions which have been made at the instance of the three allied Courts. If the insurrection had not taken place there would have been neither remonstrance nor interference, and Herzegovina would not have occupied for months the attention of Europe. The experiment was daring, but it was only destined to end in a qualified success. The Turkish army, notwithstanding its numerous imperfections, is too strong in numbers to be permanently checked by irregular bands. It is highly probable that the provinces will at a future time renew their efforts. The malcontents, if they are prudent, will wait till Russia is disposed to adopt their cause; and they will not fail to watch with interest the contests of parties and races in Austria and Hungary. The Hungarian Parliament has lately been assured by the PRIME MINISTER that the proposed pacification is likely to be effected; but a spokesman of the Servian subjects of the kingdom answered by a declaration that a free State ought to be created to the south of the Danube, by the addition of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the principality of Servia. If at any time the Slavonic population acquire political supremacy in Hungary, the Austrian policy in Turkey will be fundamentally altered.

#### THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

THE atmosphere of the House of Lords is generally serenity itself. Its calm is almost tropical; but then, when storms invade the calms of the tropics, they are apt to be very strong storms indeed. When the Lords get bitter, their bitterness is very vehement and intense. On Tuesday evening there was much railing among dignities. Unfortunately Lord SALISBURY woke the winds by suggesting that he was being criticized for his despatches to Lord NORTHBROOK because Lord NORTHBROOK was a Liberal. Up went the gale, and the Duke of AEGYLL replied that Lord SALISBURY had got fettered in his Indian policy by indiscreet stumping at Manchester, and that Lord LYTTON had been selected because his diplomatic training had admirably qualified him to cringe to his master at the India Office. We may pass over these amenities, which have at least the use of showing that the Lords cannot always be described as up in a balloon, and removed from the interests and passions of earth. The real question—and it is a very serious and difficult question—is whether Lord SALISBURY had transgressed any of the rules which a wise policy would lay down for our government of India. That the Viceroy, assisted by his Council, should really govern in India, and not merely be decked with the pomp and invested with the show of government, is admitted on all hands. It is equally admitted that everything the Viceroy does is in subordination to the authority of the Secretary of State, assisted by his Council here. In such a state of things conflicts of authority must necessarily arise, unless the Secretary of State sanctions all that the Viceroy does or proposes, or the Viceroy asks for all his orders from home, or they both arrive at a common

decision before action is taken or a proposal made. In matters of mere routine, or when the Viceroy has to act under a pressing necessity, he may do what he thinks best; but in more important matters, and under ordinary circumstances, there is a point at which the Viceroy, unless he has the previous approval of the Secretary of State, acts on proposals at the risk of having his actions blamed and his proposals overruled. The whole question is as to what this point is. Lord SALISBURY has a theory on the subject, and, as usual with Lord SALISBURY, it is a clear and consistent theory; and his despatches to Lord NORTHBROOK and his language in the House of Lords will enable the world generally, and the new Viceroy of INDIA in particular, to understand precisely what this theory is.

But this theory is not only the theory of Lord SALISBURY. It gains importance by being also the theory of Lord CARNARVON, and it is instructive to consider, first, how Lord CARNARVON stated it, and then how Lord SALISBURY carried it out. According to Lord CARNARVON, India stands to the home Government in the same relation as any other Crown colony, and the circumstances which affect this relation in regard to other Crown colonies affect it in regard to India also. By far the most important of the new circumstances affecting this relation has been the invention of telegraphy. The Viceroy is a very big governor of a very big Crown colony; but, after all, he is only the man at the other end of the wire. As Lord CARNARVON said, "In former times the Governor-General occupied a far more independent position than a 'holder of the office could do at present.' Now England and India are only a few hours off from each other, and it is the duty of the Secretary of State to find out how far he can bring English feeling and English opinion to bear upon India. This is what is done with regard to other Crown colonies. Lord CARNARVON stated the modern practice to be as follows. The Governor sends to the Secretary of State his suggestions as to what is desirable; the Secretary issues his instructions, and often draughts a Bill. If the Bill receives modifications in the colony, they are reserved for the consideration of the Secretary, and are not adopted without his sanction. The Legislative Councils in Crown colonies are, it is true, often—and especially when they happen to consist of able men—inclined to grasp at a greater amount of independence than this system would seem to admit; but with the aid of telegraphy and peremptory instructions, the Secretary, as Lord CARNARVON is happy to think, manages to curb with much success this illegitimate desire. This is the theory, and Lord SALISBURY has unhesitatingly carried it into practice. In order to prevent collision, he instructed the VICEROY in 1874 to let him know beforehand all the measures he proposed to enact, unless they were of an urgent kind. Last summer Lord NORTHBROOK passed a measure without consulting Lord SALISBURY previously. This was what Lord SALISBURY called springing a surprise on him, and he proceeded to express his views on the proceeding with unmistakable force and clearness. Lord NORTHBROOK had justified himself on the ground that the measure was urgent. Lord SALISBURY replied that he thought that the alleged reasons for treating the measure as urgent were very feeble, but that he would cut the matter short by ordering the VICEROY to telegraph beforehand what he was going to propose in cases of emergency, so that the telegraph might always be between the Secretary and the man at the other end. Lord SALISBURY further objected to the mode in which the measure was passed, being run through in a single day, up at Simla, without the non-official members of the Council being present; and he also objected to an important portion of the contents of the measure, by which an import duty was imposed on raw foreign cotton. And this led Lord SALISBURY to give a peremptory instruction as to future legislation. This import had, as it appears, been invented to please Lord SALISBURY. It was intended to be a consolation to his Manchester friends for the retention of the import duty on foreign goods. But Lord SALISBURY was not at all pleased. He explained that he and his Manchester friends did not want to be consoled, but to have the obnoxious duty on cotton goods swept away; for the future Lord SALISBURY determined that no more futile attempts to console should be made, and he therefore gave peremptory instructions that this duty should be repealed within a limited number of years, not all at once, but gradually, and as would best meet the exigencies of Indian finance; but still within a fixed time it must come to an end. Lord SALISBURY thus completely fulfilled the duty, stated by Lord CARNARVON to

be incumbent on him, of bringing English opinion and English feeling to bear on Indian affairs, and the further duty which Lord CARNARVON thinks rests with every Governor of a Crown colony of making the local Government feel through the telegraph and by the issue of positive instructions that it is dependent on the Home Government, and must not usurp independence. No doubt the despatch was a severe rebuke to Lord NORTHBROOK; but then it is, as Lord SALISBURY said, his business to rebuke a Viceroy when the Viceroy does wrong.

A very different theory of the relations of the Viceroy to the Secretary of State was laid down by Lord LAWRENCE. In his opinion the Viceroy is not at all like the Governor of an ordinary Crown colony. The circumstances in which he is placed are totally different. He has to symbolize authority in the presence of a vast multitude of Orientals who are only kept down by the awe of authority. He has to think what is best for India, to take the steps which India requires, to propose the legislation which India needs. He reports his doings to the Secretary of State, who, if he pleases, can recall him or veto his measures. As far as convenience may admit, it is no doubt desirable that, before measures are proposed by the Viceroy, he should submit them to the Secretary of State, as the Secretary of State may make some useful suggestions with his superior knowledge of English opinion and English feeling. It is for the Viceroy to determine what is the value of these suggestions. It is useful for him also to know beforehand what measures the Secretary is likely to veto, as this may save him a waste of time; but if he thinks India requires a measure which he knows the Secretary will veto, it is his business to pass it and let the Secretary veto it. He will have done all for India he can, and will have a clear conscience. If the Secretary of State rebukes him, the Viceroy, if not thin-skinned, will not much mind; and indeed it is not likely he should be much hurt, as he is the man who knows India being rebuked by the man who does not know. Supposing peremptory instructions were sent him as to future legislation of which he disapproved, as Lord LAWRENCE disapproves of the repeal of the cotton goods duty, then Lord LAWRENCE said he should simply disobey them. This, and this only, is the way in which, as the only peer who could address them with the actual experience of Viceroyalty informed the Lords, India can be governed.

It is obvious that these two theories entirely conflict; and it is perhaps also obvious that, while Lord SALISBURY's theory can be carried out in the hands of a Secretary of State with anything like his energy and determination, it is scarcely possible that Lord LAWRENCE's theory can be carried out except under circumstances that may happen once in a century. It is natural that Lord LAWRENCE should assume that the VICEROY knows what is wise for India, because he really did know India as far as any one human being is capable of knowing it. But what can Lord LYTTON know about India? Absolutely nothing. The Secretary of State must, and while Lord SALISBURY is in office most certainly will, direct him. On the other hand, it is hard to persuade ourselves that India is really like any ordinary Crown colony, and that the Viceroy is only a gentlemanly servant at the other end of a wire, with a handsomer livery than usual. The end of all reflection on the debate in the Lords is that there is something true in both theories, and that all that can be done is, by tact and patience and wise allowance for differences of view, to combine them as far as possible. It is, no doubt, very hard to do this, and Lord SALISBURY easily showed that other Secretaries, and especially the Duke of ARGYLL, had used language to other Viceroys more outspoken and peremptory than anything he had written to Lord NORTHBROOK. But mistakes are mistakes, even if other people have committed them. It is not assuming much to assume that, if Lord SALISBURY had now to write his views about the repeal of the cotton duty, he would use more moderate language. He would guard himself more closely against the appearance of dictation. Perhaps the debate will have a general and useful effect, and will incline not only the present, but future Secretaries, to uphold the Viceroy as much as possible, to rebuke him as little as possible, to be very cautious in bringing views of English opinion and English ideas to bear on India, and to avoid eating out all sense of responsibility in the Indian Government by the abuse of the telegraph.

#### THE FRENCH MINISTERIAL STATEMENT.

A MINISTERIAL statement which begins by asserting the legitimacy of the existing order of things in France may be thought to be either superfluous or useless. If the deliberate consent of a constituent Assembly and the popular ratification which is implied in the return of a large Republican majority are not at once recognized as sufficient to give the requisite validity to the Republic, of what avail will it be that the new Cabinet has added its seal? If we pass beyond the form, and ask whether the new institutions have any promise of permanence beyond those which have preceded them, the answer must be left to the future. Either way, it may be contended, the first paragraph of the statement which M. DUFAURE read on Tuesday in the Senate, and the Duke DECAZES in the Chamber of Deputies is altogether out of place. The answer is, that messages of this kind are not intended either for foreigners or for political students. They are addressed to the parties which compose the Legislature at that particular time, and, judged by this standard, the French Ministerial statement will not appear inappropriate. Its opening words define with great accuracy the position which its authors intend to assume with reference to the Legitimists, the Bonapartists, and the extreme Republicans. The assertion that, in human society, power cannot have a higher origin than the deliberate assent of those over whom it is exercised is addressed to the Legitimists. It separates the new Cabinet from men like M. BUFFET and the Duke of BROGLIE, who, though they were willing to accept the Republic as the best attainable substitute for a legitimate Government, still looked forward to a time when it might be replaced by a Government to which that character should attach by right and not by sufferance. M. DUFAURE declares in effect that, though a Monarchy may conceivably be substituted for the Republic, as being likely to answer the ends of Government better under certain circumstances, the advantages of the change would be practical, not theoretical. These same words have another meaning as regards the Bonapartists. They claim for the Republic all the popular authority which on the Imperialist theory can only be given by a plebiscite. Universal suffrage, the statement seems to say, is not essentially associated with a particular mode of taking the votes. A Government can be as effectually recognized by a Legislature the members of which have been chosen by constituencies fully aware of the issue submitted to them, as if the inquiry had taken the shape of Will you have the Republic or the Empire? To the extreme Radicals this first paragraph conveys a reminder that any defects that may have existed in the constituent powers of the late Assembly have been fully condoned by the vote of the electors. If the new MINISTER of the INTERIOR stands by the assurance which follows, and insists upon his subordinates showing their fidelity to the Government by "making the Republic understood and appreciated," the distinction between the present and the late Cabinet will soon be thoroughly understood. M. BUFFET neither understood nor appreciated the Republic himself, and his subordinates were fully sensible that any signs of doing so on their part would be the worst possible passport to their chief's favour. There is no reason to suppose that, if M. RICARD makes his wishes equally clear, he will have any difficulty in securing an equally prompt obedience. When M. BUFFET retained the Bonapartist prefects who had been appointed by the Duke of BROGLIE, there is little doubt that he might have turned them into fairly good Republicans if he had only been willing to take the pains. As it was, he preferred to keep them Bonapartists; and, when they found that no change was demanded of them, it was natural enough that they should continue to bear their own characters. But the reasons which would have made it their interest to become Republicans at M. BUFFET's bidding have lost none of their force, and will probably be found equally effectual to make them become Republicans at M. RICARD's bidding. It may be a little hard at first to have to proclaim that the Republic, more than any other form of government, needs to rest upon religion, property, and respect for labour, considering how lately they have been engaged in proclaiming that religion, property, and respect for labour are necessarily incompatible with a Republic. But they will not be long in mastering their new lesson, and any anxiety they may feel as to their power of doing so will be soothed by the reflection that the elections have shown how very little it matters whether they master it or not.



The only legacies from the late Assembly which the new Cabinet seems prepared to accept are the controversy about University degrees and the controversy about the nomination of mayors. It is a decided concession to the Left that these questions should thus be singled out for immediate legislation. The compromise arrived at by the Assembly during the passage of the University Education Bill has hardly begun to take effect, and it is certainly early to interfere with it. But the prompt activity with which the bishops have availed themselves of their new powers as regards the foundation of Universities has given a flavour of clericalism to a law which in itself was neither unjust nor injurious to the interests of education, and it is almost impossible for a Cabinet which leans in any degree on the Left to avoid professing its readiness to review the question. Under the present law the examiners for degrees are appointed by a Board in which the University of France and the free Universities are alike represented, and the least concession demanded by the Left is the excision of the latter element from the Board. It will appear to many that the narrowness of spirit which will hesitate to allow due merit to the candidates sent up from a rival University may be as powerful in the University of France as in the free Universities. Even if the security afforded by common representation on the examining Board is found inexpedient, some equally unpopular equivalent will probably have to be substituted for it unless the legislation of last year is to be altogether overthrown—a result which is scarcely to be expected when four members of the Cabinet were also members of the Cabinet which passed the Universities Bill. The nomination of mayors is a matter which has been made to seem more important than it really is by reason of the exaggerated expectations which the Duke of BROGLIE, and even M. BUFFET, entertained of the working of the present law. They always assumed that it would be impossible to manage the elections unless the Government nominated the mayors. When the elections came it turned out that, even though they had the nomination of the mayors, they were wholly unable to manage the elections, at least in any sense which affected the composition of the Chambers. The relations between the Government and the mayors are such that it may often be highly inconvenient to have the post occupied by an adversary, not merely of the particular Cabinet, but even of the form of government which it is the business of the Cabinet to administer. The Republican party are likely to feel this inconvenience quite as keenly as any of their opponents, and it may be suspected that in their hearts they are not very anxious to deprive themselves of an advantage of which they failed to deprive either M. BUFFET or the Duke of BROGLIE. But the necessity of appearing consistent compels the Left to insist on some modification of the law, and leaves the Cabinet no choice but to promise to give the subject its best consideration.

Some surprise and more regret has been expressed at M. GAMBETTA's attitude towards the new Ministry. It seems to be forgotten that, though a politician may not resent in act the exclusion of himself and his followers from the offices to which their weight in the Legislature appears to entitle them, it is scarcely to be expected that he should not resent it in words. M. GAMBETTA probably knows as well as any man that in the present condition of France a Cabinet formed on strict Parliamentary principles is out of the question. The Executive is more Conservative than the Legislature; and the Executive, as well as the Legislature, has to be consulted in carrying on the government. But, inasmuch as the existing Cabinet is professedly formed on Parliamentary principles, it is not unreasonable that the leader of what is accepted, at all events until some decisive decision shall have proved the contrary, as the strongest section of the Republican party in the Chamber of Deputies should call attention to so direct a violation of them. And supposing, as there is good reason to suppose, that the Cabinet is genuinely Republican, it is to be desired that M. GAMBETTA should take up an attitude of criticism rather than of simple support. A time must arrive when the term Republican will cease to be a party distinction, and will become a common title, including not only the Ministerialists, but also the bulk of the Opposition. When that time arrives, M. GAMBETTA will be the natural leader of the Liberal Republicans, as M. DUFAURE, or his successors, will be the natural leader of the Conservative Republicans. Probably

the immediate result of this change will be to lessen the number of M. GAMBETTA's followers. Of late the Republican party has been almost identified with him, inasmuch as the nominally Republican Administration was suspected of cherishing a secret affection for other forms of government. Now that this is no longer the case, the differences that exist in the Republican party will become more evident, because they will no longer be suppressed in the presence of common adversaries. Timid politicians may think the change a symptom of weakness; but it will in truth be the best evidence, because the necessary accompaniment, of Republican progress.

#### THE AMERICAN PRESIDENCY.

**B**ETWEEN the Philadelphia Exhibition and the Presidential election the people of the United States are provided with interesting occupation for some months to come. The Centennial celebration is the occasion of graver excitement, and its practical results may perhaps be more important. Up to the present time the promoters and managers of the undertaking have displayed remarkable energy and ability, and the Exhibition will probably be one of the most brilliant of the series, as it will be larger in all its dimensions than the displays of London, of Paris, or of Vienna. The equanimity of summer visitors, whether they are Republican or Democratic, will be but slightly disturbed by the victory or defeat which they may respectively hope or fear to experience in November. In former times the choice of a President involved both considerations of personal fitness, and on some occasions weighty political issues. The last contest of political significance ended in the election of Mr. LINCOLN by a minority, in consequence of a schism in the ranks of his Democratic opponents. The candidate himself was almost unknown; but as soon as he was elected, the most pugnacious of the Southern States seceded from the Union. His re-election in 1864 was a fitting recognition of his public services, and the only successor who has since owed his elevation to a popular vote also received his first appointment as a merited reward. The recollection of General GRANT's exploits was less fresh in 1872 than in 1868; but he was still the most presentable candidate of the regular Republican party, and the dissident or reforming section of the party, with their Democratic allies, threw away their chance by the ridiculous nomination of Mr. GREELEY. The enthusiasm with which General GRANT was regarded for some time after the end of the war has now wholly subsided. He has on many occasions plainly intimated his desire for a third term of office; but recent scandals, though they may not have directly affected his character, have destroyed all hopes of his re-election.

The election which will take place in the autumn, and the preliminary arrangements, create the same kind of excitement with a Derby on a gigantic scale. To the community as a whole it matters little which party or which candidate is preferred, but the final decision will be a gratifying triumph to those who may have backed the winner. The interest on the impending occasion will be greatly increased by the uncertainty which prevails as to the comparative strength of the two great parties. The Democrats carried the elections in 1874, and the Republicans in 1875, and it is impossible to say how the balance of opinion has since inclined. The party which is allied with the actual PRESIDENT and with the Senate controls the votes of the numerous office-holders throughout the Union; but expectants as well as incumbents have votes; and probably the Republicans have lost ground by the exposure of the widespread corruption which prevails at Washington. The Democrats, who were formerly discredited by the connexion of their party with the perpetrators of the New York frauds, at present enjoy the more gratifying office of prosecutors; and their party in the House of Representatives is not disposed to waste its opportunity. The charges against General BABCOCK are revived, notwithstanding his acquittal; and the impediments which render it difficult or impossible to proceed with the impeachment of General BELKNAP will not diminish the indignation which has been provoked by his conduct. The Republicans have endeavoured to trace a questionable connexion between Mr. PENDLETON, who is a possible Democratic nominee, and the delinquent SECRETARY OF WAR; but Mr. PENDLETON seems to have satisfied a Committee of the House that the charge is unfounded. The brother of the PRESIDENT confesses his

participation in an arrangement which may be mildly described as a job. No direct charge has yet been made against the PRESIDENT; but the easy morality of a great officer of State who has the bad luck to be surrounded by friends and kinsmen of doubtful character will not suit the present temper of the people. Two ingenious appeals to popular prejudice have wholly failed. The PRESIDENT soon found that the country was not disposed to adopt a policy of aggression in Cuba; and the agitation which he commenced against the Roman Catholic Church has been appropriated by other politicians, who will probably suspend it until the Presidential election is decided.

On the whole it has become nearly certain that the PRESIDENT will not even be proposed as a candidate for nomination in the Republican Convention at Cincinnati. The interest of jobbing politicians will be not less appropriately represented by Mr. MORTON or Mr. CONKLING. It is possible that the Republican nominee may, if he is elected, be a good President, but it is quite certain that he will not have been previously distinguished. Of those who have hitherto been mentioned, Mr. BLAINE has perhaps the best chance of nomination. As Speaker of the last House of Representatives he acquired a reputation for Parliamentary adroitness which has since been enhanced by the skill with which he took the anti-Catholic movement out of the hands of the PRESIDENT. Mr. BRISTOW, now Secretary of the Treasury, is the best financier who has held office of late years, and he may perhaps be recommended to popular approval, though not to the favour of election-managers, by the energy with which he has prosecuted the inquiry into the revenue frauds. The Cincinnati Convention will not be disturbed by feelings of personal enthusiasm for any of the possible nominees. The Democrats are almost equally at a loss for a candidate who may unite the greatest number of votes. Mr. TILDEN, Governor of New York, has acquired just credit by his vigorous repression of municipal frauds, and he has displayed much administrative ability; but unluckily he holds sound and decided opinions on the currency; and it is thought that the Democrats of the Western States will not support a candidate who is pledged to promote the earliest possible resumption of specie currency. On the other hand, the autumn elections in Pennsylvania and Ohio are thought to have shown the danger of alienating the most enlightened States by the selection of a candidate pledged to inflation. Before the Convention meets at St. Louis the managers of the party will have exerted all their ingenuity in constructing some formula which may as far as possible satisfy both the advocates of a sound coinage and the partisans of inflation.

The embarrassment which is felt by both parties in devising political issues, and the abundant leisure which is not disturbed by any demand for legislative activity, have been curiously illustrated by a late debate in the House of Representatives on an abstract proposition. The Republicans thought that they could revive the popularity which they enjoyed ten years ago by a gratuitous and unseasonable appeal to the love of national unity. For this purpose they moved a Resolution that the people of the United States constitute one nation, and not a confederacy of States; that the national union is indissoluble; that no State has a right to judge of the constitutional character of laws; and that secession or rebellion against the Union is treason. Even if all these propositions were admitted as true there would be no reason for affirming them at a time when no State and no single citizen meditates a practical contravention of the Republican doctrine. If the Democrats had met the challenge by moving the previous question, they would have furnished the best comment on the party nature of the movement. Their leaders seem to have thought it more expedient to accept the challenge of the Republicans. They declared in a counter Resolution that the Government of the United States is a Federal Union with powers defined and limited by the Constitution. The doctrine of secession was, as they reasonably contended, settled by the result of the Civil War; but they held that the local government of the several States was necessary for the maintenance of freedom. The mistake which the Republicans had committed was shown by the desertion of several members of the party, with whose aid the Democratic Resolutions were carried by a majority of more than three to one. It is not to be supposed that the Presidential contest will be affected by a transparent contrivance for the promotion of party objects; but one of the singular results of the American Constitution is that the Legislature

devotes the greater part of the Session to the purpose of influencing the election of the future head of the Executive. It is not the business of foreigners to criticize arrangements which must be presumed to suit the convenience of those whom they immediately concern. Intelligent Americans are offended by the practical anomalies which sometimes affect the working of their institutions, and they dislike and condemn the corruption which seems to be an inevitable result of the system; but they find that Washington jobs and idle Parliamentary talk are compatible with order, with freedom, and with prosperity; and they are so far independent of the character of Presidents and Congresses that no nation in the world is so little troubled by contact with Government. The distribution of power among the Union, the States, and the smaller political divisions, in some degree explains the public indifference to the issues which divide and occupy professional politicians.

#### THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE NAVY.

ON Monday Mr. BENTINCK revived an old controversy to very little purpose. The question whether the First Lord of the Admiralty ought necessarily to be a naval officer has often been discussed, and practical expediency has always pointed to the same conclusion—that, as a rule, it is work which is fitter for a civilian than for a professional man. The evidence taken by the Committee of 1871 supplied Mr. DISRAELI with abundant materials for justifying his opposition to Mr. BENTINCK's motion. It is true that a large proportion of the witnesses before the Committee were civilians who had held office as head of the navy, and who might therefore be suspected of regarding with some degree of personal prepossession the suitability of civilians for such appointments. At the same time there were also naval witnesses who took the same view; and indeed it is only necessary to consider the practical conditions of the question in order to see that it would be impossible to lay down the rule that the First Lord should be invariably a naval officer, and never a civilian. No doubt a naval officer who possessed all the qualifications for the post would be the best man, but then the question is, what likelihood is there of finding a naval officer answering this ideal? Lord JOHN HAY said rather bluntly in his evidence that he had hardly ever seen a naval Lord whom he thought fit to be First Lord of the Admiralty; and it must be admitted that such persons are likely to be rare. It must be remembered that this is a country in which Parliamentary government prevails, and that this sort of government is not an absolutely perfect system, and must be taken with its advantages and disadvantages. It is easy to conceive that in a despotic country the navy might at a particular time be placed in the hands of a highly competent expert exercising absolute authority as the delegate of the sovereign, and might thus be brought into a high state of efficiency. In Russia, for instance, the navy is under the brother of the EMPEROR, who has a thorough professional knowledge of his work, and is also a man of great spirit and energy. The Grand Duke CONSTANTINE no doubt suffers in a certain way from that "eternal want of pence which vexes public men"; but, on the other hand, he is not troubled by the close and jealous supervision of a House of Commons, and the necessity of satisfying popular opinion in everything he does or proposes to do. The danger of this system is that, although it may be an admirable one when it is quite certain that the right man is in the right place, and knows what he is about, it leaves room for the possibility of a rash or inefficient man being put in a position where he may do incalculable mischief. In a free country such a system is obviously impossible. The Government must do, not just what it thinks best, but what the country approves, and in all important matters must carry the country with it. Moreover, it is impossible to keep the management of the navy altogether apart from current politics. The necessary strength of the navy must be measured by the purposes for which it is to be used; and it is indispensable that the head of the department should be a member of the Cabinet and in the full enjoyment of its confidence. It is clear, therefore, that the First Lord must be, to begin with, a politician and statesman, and in harmonious accord with the Ministry of the day. But how many naval officers have a chance of qualifying themselves for such a position? In order to



excel in their own profession, they must devote to it the greater part of their lives. They cannot be in the House of Commons and engaged in the active exercise of their profession at the same time; and it is usually, and indeed necessarily, late in life before they can take a seat in Parliament. On the other hand, although a civilian in such a position is at a disadvantage in regard to technical knowledge, this is required only for a part of his duties, and can in a great measure be supplied by professional advice. There is a great deal of ordinary administrative work for which the First Lord is responsible, and which any sensible man, with good business habits, is capable of looking after. The position, in fact, which the Parliamentary head of the navy occupies is not that of an expert who is supposed to know exactly what to do from his own knowledge and experience, and to be able to decide offhand for himself on any question, but simply that of a superintendent who is appointed to look after the interests of the country and to see that its wishes are complied with. When a private person has a house built he does not place himself absolutely in the hands of the architect or builder; he lays down the conditions on which he wishes the work done, changes his mind from time to time as to what he wants, and retains a controlling power over the style and cost of the edifice. And it is the same with the navy, and also with the army. The Parliamentary head of the army need not be a soldier any more than the head of the navy need be a sailor; what is wanted is a shrewd, sensible man of business, who is a good judge of what sort of people to trust, and who makes up his mind, like a jury, on the evidence before him.

When the position of a First Lord is distinctly understood, it is easy to see the course of duty which lies before him and the dangers to which he is exposed. He ought always to bear in mind that he is only officially and not personally responsible for decisions on professional matters as to which he, as a civilian, naturally knows very little, and that all he has to do is to form an intelligent decision upon the advice laid before him by those who possess practical knowledge. The danger is lest he should fancy himself entitled to make light of professional advice, when it does not accord with his own personal judgment. Mr. WARD HUNT, for example, may or may not be fit for the office he occupies; but if he is unfit, it is not because he is a civilian, but merely because he is personally incapable of that clear perception of his duty which is necessary to save a man in such a place from constant blundering. It must be borne in mind that Mr. HUNT has never shown himself remarkable for business aptitude. When Chancellor of the Exchequer he distinguished himself by one of the most extraordinary feats of bungling ever achieved by any holder of that office. In policy the purchase of the telegraphs was no doubt sound enough; but the manner in which the financial part of the transaction was managed was an almost incredible muddle. The railways were left entirely out of account, and a ring of stock-jobbers were allowed to plunder the public. At the Admiralty Mr. HUNT has still more conspicuously and consistently displayed his want of discretion and common sense. Of course it would be absurd to hold him responsible for the loss of the *Vanguard*, except perhaps in so far as the holiday character of the cruise and the undermanning of the ships may have indirectly contributed to the disaster. Mr. HUNT's responsibility did not begin until he had the verdict of the court-martial before him. He had then to decide how far he should adopt it, and he took confidential counsel on the question with the naval Lords. Here arose a conflict of authorities; the court-martial who had heard the case thought one thing, the naval Lords who had not heard it thought differently; and Mr. HUNT, without allowing any further inquiry, gave a hasty decision in favour of his more intimate advisers. Whether the view he took was right or wrong is a point on which different opinions may be entertained, but there can be no question that he ought to have avoided a precipitate decision dealing with the whole of a subject which had only been partially investigated, and in the teeth of the judgment of a tribunal of high authority. In dealing with other disasters since he has been in office Mr. WARD HUNT has similarly shown his contempt for the ordinary securities of judicial investigation, and has acted, like an autocrat, on his own private impressions. No public notice has been taken by the Admiralty of such cases as those of the *Alberta*—the papers as to which, by the way, are still mysteriously delayed—the *Monarch*, and the *Iron Duke* in its second escapade. It may be that in

each of these cases the conduct of the officers can be fully justified; but the suppression of the usual course of inquiry is clearly a violation of what is due both to the service and the public. A wise administrator would understand the possibilities of error which surround him, and would take care to fortify himself in any decision by obtaining the opinion of the regular tribunals, and justifying his acts by open evidence. Mr. HUNT's defect is that he does not understand the pitfalls that lie in the way of a rash, self-confident administrator, who takes too much upon himself.

As regards ship-building, it can perhaps hardly be said that Mr. WARD HUNT's administration has been much worse than that of his predecessors, but he has certainly shown that he wants the firmness of judgment which is essential in such an office. He began his career by declaring that we had only a phantom fleet, and immediately afterwards he had to admit that our navy had a substantial existence, and required only some small repairs. This year he still retains his confidence in its sufficiency. We have lost a valuable ironclad, but it is not thought necessary to replace it, and there is to be a large addition of gunboats instead. There is no doubt something to be said in favour of the policy of, as the Duke of SOMERSET said, putting our eggs in as many baskets as possible, but there is surely a medium between ironclad first-rates and gunboats which deserves attention. The mischief of the system at the Admiralty is that it does not maintain a steady course, but is always rushing from one extreme to the other. In 1870, for instance, as Mr. REED pointed out, four ships were laid down by the then Government, which was alarmed by the outbreak of war between France and Germany, and its possible contingencies. But the war was at an end before any of these vessels were ready, and consequently the money was thrown away, because the ships were not of the kind which would have been built except for an emergency. Again, it is evident that, if the gunboat branch of the navy is so desperately in want of reinforcement, it must be because it has been neglected; and now ironclads are to be neglected in order to attend to gunboats. This fitful and capricious attention now to one thing and then to another is surely not the way to secure an efficient service. Whatever may be thought of Mr. REED's method of calculating the strength of our own and foreign navies, the admission of the FIRST LORD that the navy of France is to that of England as seventy-five to a hundred is, considering the relative circumstances of the two countries, a subject for something more than reflection. Nor ought the possible combination of foreign fleets, which, though individually weaker than our own, would be stronger in the aggregate, to be left out of account.

#### LANDED PROPERTY IN PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND.

THE compulsory transfer of property in Prince Edward Island may perhaps have alarmed nervous English landowners who have become acquainted with the transaction by occasional conversations in Parliament. The precedents of which the Irish Land Act was the first are likely to accumulate with constantly diminishing regard for rules which were once deemed immutable. Every separate act of interference with property is excused, and perhaps justified, by the special circumstances of the case; but the common principle that private right must yield to real or supposed public convenience acquires additional practical importance by each successive recognition of its validity. The expropriation of the landowners in Prince Edward Island has received the more or less willing assent of Lord GRANVILLE, Lord KIMBERLEY, Lord DUFFERIN, and Lord CARNARVON. It may therefore be assumed that some measure of the kind was necessary, or that it was less objectionable than the probable results of an alternative policy; but property is a delicate institution, depending for its security on unbroken custom. In Prince Edward Island, as in Ireland, the concessions which were professedly due to reasons of practical convenience had been clamorously demanded on revolutionary and communistic grounds. Occupiers who were impatient of the existence of landlords have for some years announced that property in land was a usurpation, and that the soil naturally belonged to the actual cultivators. It is probable that they may change their minds since they have acquired their freeholds for an almost nominal consideration. The occupiers of the island will repay the debt which they owe to

the Irish tenantry by furnishing arguments in favour of Mr. BUIT'S agitation for the transfer of the remaining rights of Irish landowners. After a time English proprietors will be reminded in turn that their interests also are subject to the discretion of the Legislature. Some of them are prematurely inviting attack by the suicidal policy of confiscating property which happens to be excepted from the ordinary course of hereditary succession.

It must be admitted that the absentee landowners of Prince Edward Island occupied an invidious position. Lord CARNARVON lately informed the House of Lords that about a hundred years ago the land was acquired by their predecessors in title through the odd machinery of a raffle. The prizes in the Crown lottery were estates of 20,000 acres each; and the winners, who perhaps scarcely understood where their new possessions were situated, could have little intention of colonizing the island in their own persons. The actual settlers have since held their tenements at a trifling rent, which has in most cases run into arrear. The prevalence and popularity of freehold tenures throughout the continent of North America not unnaturally rendered the islanders discontented with their position; but fifty or thirty years ago it would have been useless to ask the assent of a Lieutenant-Governor of the Colonial Office to measures for the compulsory acquisition of holdings by occupiers. The establishment and growth of popular power exercised by a democratic Legislature has since changed the conditions of the controversy. One of the parties in the dispute returns all the members, while the other only held the property which was coveted by the constituency. An analogous division between the basis of taxation and that of representation has in other countries produced the results which might be expected. In Prince Edward Island the question was not as to the distribution of public burdens, but as to the ownership of all the land in the colony. Several Bills were successively passed to enable the Government to buy out the proprietors on terms so inequitable that the Colonial Minister or the Governor-General of Canada refused to assent to them. Both Lord DUFFERIN and Lord CARNARVON at last sanctioned in 1875 an Act which has effected the object of abolishing leasehold tenures. It appears by a recital in the preamble that, when the island was annexed to Canada, the Government of the Dominion undertook to contribute eight hundred thousand dollars for the purpose of enabling the Government of the province to buy up the leasehold lands. The Act constituted a Commission which was to assess the compensation to be paid to the owners, the Governor-General, the Lieutenant-Governor of the island, and the proprietors themselves respectively nominating one of the three Commissioners.

Mr. CHILDERS, who was appointed a Commissioner by Lord DUFFERIN, was obliged to return to England after making an award on the claims of ten considerable proprietors. The principles on which he adjudicated have probably been adopted by his successors; and to those who are unacquainted with the country the results seem at least to explain the loudly expressed dissatisfaction of the expropriated owners. For the freehold of 130,000 acres of land the arbitrators awarded 60,000*l.* There is no reason to doubt either their competence or their impartiality, though the losers by the transaction may be excused for including the Commissioners in the blame which they impute to the provincial Legislature, to the Government of the Dominion, and to the Colonial Minister. By the 28th section of the Act the Commissioners are required to consider, amongst other things, the price at which other proprietors have sold their land, the arrears of rent, the gross rental already paid by the tenants during the previous six years, and the net receipts of the proprietor, the number of acres held by adverse claimants, and the possibility of ejecting them, and the condition of the original grants from the Crown. As the tenants have for many years, with the concurrence of the Legislature, baffled and thwarted the proprietors by all possible means in their efforts to assert their rights, their resistance to the law is now rewarded by a proportional diminution in the compensation allowed to the proprietor. Adverse claimants are probably squatters, with no title but possession; and the undoubted difficulty of ejecting them from their holdings authorizes a further deduction from the amount of compensation. The proprietors had protested loudly against all the measures of the provincial Assembly, including the Act of 1875; but it is not surprising that the smallness of the sums awarded by the Commissioners is regarded, not as a necessary consequence of previous

legislation, but as a new and distinct grievance. No objection can be made to a provision that no percentage should be allowed for compulsory purchase. Residents in England who had inherited large tracts of land in a distant colony could not be supposed to feel any sentimental attachment to their estates. It must not be forgotten that all the deductions allowed by the Act really corresponded to draw backs from the value of the property. If no transfer had been effected, the leaseholders would constantly have become more turbulent and more contumacious.

The action of the provincial Legislature was first suggested by Lord GRANVILLE in a despatch which referred to the Irish Land Act, then recently passed. The principle of compulsory interference was common to Ireland and to the colony; but the reasons which were thought to render the application of the principle expedient were as different as the economic circumstances of the two countries. The remedies were also unlike, for in Ireland proprietors have not been compelled to sell their estates, and in Prince Edward Island there are no evicted tenants to receive compensation. In one country land was scarce and dear, and it was the object of incessant competition. Prince Edward Island is thinly settled, and some of the proprietors owned large tracts of uncultivated land. The universal establishment of freehold tenures will probably promote population and prosperity. Ireland was twenty years ago over-peopled; and it has at present a sufficient number of inhabitants. It is a cause for regret that the leasehold tenures in Prince Edward Island were not voluntarily commuted some years ago, when their proprietors might probably have secured more liberal terms. A similar measure would not be applicable to England, where the accumulation of large estates, and the customary relation of landlord and tenant, result in a great degree from economical causes; but there can be no doubt that the precedent will often be quoted. The Irish Land Act passed on the assurance of the Government that the recognition of exceptional circumstances would not affect the security of property in other parts of the United Kingdom; but one of Mr. GLADSTONE'S colleagues has often since publicly contended that the principle of the Irish Act must in consistency be applied to England. Lord DUFFERIN and Lord CARNARVON may be acquitted of willingness to tamper with the foundations of property; but their authority will be hereafter invoked in favour of schemes for the redistribution of land.

#### AMENDMENTS TO THE COMMONS BILL.

IF Mr. FAWCETT is well advised, he will withdraw the motion of which he has given notice with regard to the Commons Bill. Before opposing the further progress of the measure he ought to be satisfied either that the law as it stands is satisfactory, or that the Bill proposing to amend it cannot be made to effect its professed purpose. It may perhaps be contended that the best thing that can be done about inclosures is not to make them, and that this object can be as well attained under the existing Acts as under any Bill that can be introduced. The objections to this policy are that there may still be cases in which a judicious inclosure would be a public benefit; that, even if there are no such cases, there is often need for the regulation of commons, which is impossible without an Act of Parliament of some sort; and that, so long as the feeling against inclosures is not embodied in an Act of Parliament, its continuance cannot be relied on. If the watchfulness of the opponents once slumbers, the machinery for effecting them lies ready to hand. If the law is altered in the sense proposed by Mr. CROSS, the decision upon each inclosure will still rest with Parliament, but the preparation of the scheme will be surrounded with new difficulties. It will be much less easy to take Parliament by surprise than it is now; and, although the change may seem unimportant when Parliament is not likely to be taken by surprise, it may not be unimportant at some future time when Parliament has other things to think about. As regards the Bill itself, it may be true, as Mr. FAWCETT'S notice of motion says, that it "does not give adequate protection to the interests of the rural labourer, and does not provide proper securities against the inclosure of those commons which it is desirable to preserve in their uninclosed condition for the use and enjoyment of the people." But the question on going into Committee is not so much whether a Bill already contains all that ought to be in it,



as whether there is a fair probability that, before it leaves Committee, it can be made to contain all that ought to be in it. Mr. FAWCETT will not deny that the Commons Bill contains many useful provisions, and Mr. CROSS has declared his readiness to introduce any further provisions that can be shown to be conducive to the object he has in view. If there is to be legislation on the subject at all, it is not likely to take place under more favourable circumstances than when a Bill, which is admitted to point in the right direction, is in charge of a Minister who is honestly anxious to make it as perfect as possible.

Of the various amendments which appear in the Notice Paper, the most sweeping is that which Mr. COWPER-TEMPLE proposes to move on the second clause. As the Bill stands, it provides for two things—the regulation of commons and the inclosure of commons. Mr. COWPER-TEMPLE wishes to see it restricted to the first of these objects, and with this view he proposes to insert words forbidding the Inclosure Commissioners to entertain an application for the inclosure of a common either in whole or in part. To justify this amendment Mr. COWPER-TEMPLE must show, not that it is not expedient to inclose many commons—a process which would give him no difficulty—but that it is not expedient to inclose any. This is tantamount to saying that there is no common land in any part of England over which cultivation may beneficially be extended. This may be true as regards the neighbourhood of London or of other great towns—and when we say neighbourhood, we use the word in its largest sense, as applying to all waste spaces which lie within the limits of a long day's excursion—but there are probably cases in Yorkshire and the other Northern counties to which it is far from being yet applicable, cases in which judicious inclosure need not in any way injure the landscape or detract from the usefulness of the common land to the scanty population of the district. In the South, again, it is not always true that a common is either ornamental or useful. It may be simply a marsh which yields nothing except malaria, which is incapable of regulation, and which must consequently be either inclosed or left alone. There is no objection to making such changes in the Bill as will show unmistakably that regulation, not inclosure, is the object which the Legislature has most at heart, and the object to which the Commissioners are on all occasions to give precedence. But unless Mr. COWPER-TEMPLE is able to make out a very strong case indeed, this particular amendment ought not to be adopted. This objection does not apply to the words which Mr. FAWCETT proposes to insert in the preamble. As it is drawn, the clause recites that it is expedient to give further facilities to the Commissioners to deal with commons without inclosing them. Mr. FAWCETT would preface this by a recital that "it is no longer expedient, as recited by the General Inclosure Act 1845, to facilitate the inclosure of commons." This is no more than the truth. There is nothing in the Bill to make inclosures easier. All the new provisions are directed to making them less easy than they are by existing law, though not, owing to accidental circumstances, by existing practice. There can be no harm therefore in making the preamble of the Bill say plainly that, though powers for inclosing commons are incidentally included in it, it is not the intention of the Bill to make inclosures more numerous.

There are two notices of Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE's which meet the objection that the Bill as it stands does not deal comprehensively with the whole subject. It provides a machinery for making inclosures, but it does not provide that no inclosure shall be effected without this machinery. Some of the worst inclosures have been made, not by the Inclosure Commissioners, but by private owners acting in defiance of law but in a comfortable assurance that no one will incur the cost of a lawsuit in order to stop them. Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE proposes to enact that, after the passing of the Act, any inclosure of a common existing at the time of such passing shall be unlawful unless sanctioned by Parliament under its provisions; and by another amendment he makes the remedy cheap and simple, by providing that any inclosure of a common or of any part thereof shall, unless sanctioned by Parliament, be deemed a public nuisance. If these provisions are inserted in the Bill, the whole law of the subject will be within the four corners of the Act. It is plain that when a machinery for effecting inclosures is provided by law, the prohibition against effecting them by any other means can hardly be made too precise or too stringent. In the present state of the law there is a standing temptation

to effect inclosures by the simple process of setting up fences and notices to trespassers, in the belief that no one will be found with sufficient public spirit and a sufficiently long purse to appeal to a court of law for an order to get the fences taken down and the notice-boards removed. When the act of inclosing, except through the intervention of the Commissioners, is made a public nuisance, the uncertainty which now surrounds an appeal to the law courts will at all events be removed. It would be a useful addition to Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE's amendment if the Commissioners were directed, on having the existence of any such nuisance brought to their knowledge, themselves to take proceedings for its abatement. This would be a perfectly appropriate function for Commissioners charged with the protection of public interests, and many persons would be found to give the Commissioners notice of an illegal inclosure who might not be ready to take even summary proceedings against the authors of it on their own account. Another amendment appears in Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE's name, the object of which to provide that it shall not, as now, be fatal to the proof of the customary right of the inhabitants of a village to the use of the village green that it can be shown to have been used by other persons as well. Nothing can be more absurd than a law which allows the destruction of a village green because the benefit of it has been extended beyond the actual residents in the village. It would be as reasonable to declare that Hyde Park should be built over because it had been proved that country people as well as Londoners occasionally walked in it. Still, absurd as this reasoning is, it seems to be well-ascertained law, and, being such, it ought plainly to be dealt with in any Bill which professes to deal with the whole subject of commons inclosure. There are several amendments of smaller moment on the Notice Paper, chiefly referring to the public meeting which the Assistant-Commissioner is directed to hold for the purpose of ascertaining the local feeling about a proposed inclosure. Some of these relate to the time at which the meeting shall be held, and others to the publicity of the notices given of it. Mr. MACDONALD proposes that a poll of the inhabitants of the parish in which the common is situated may be demanded by any inhabitant who is dissatisfied with the result of the public meeting, and that the vote shall be taken by ballot. We cannot but think that this provision would in a great majority of cases involve a simple waste of money and labour. Where there is no real feeling on the subject among the inhabitants the poll would be a mere form; where there is such a feeling, sufficient means for the expression of it, and for bringing that expression to the knowledge of Parliament, seem already to be provided.

Two important points remain which are not yet touched by any of the amendments of which notice has been given. One is the absence of any instruction to the Commissioners to take care that the compensation given for rights of common shall, when possible, be similar in kind to the rights which are surrendered. It is all very well to give a labouring man a bit of garden ground, but he cannot keep a cow in a garden as he can on the common, and the loss of milk for his children is not made up by the power of growing a few cabbages. The other is the omission to give the authorities of large towns a *locus standi* in case of inclosures at a distance. It has been suggested, for example, that in the case of all proposed inclosures in Surrey or Kent, notice should be given to the Corporation of London. How necessary some provision of this kind is may be seen from the last Report of the Inclosure Commissioners. They have not in the least repented of their intention to inclose Wisley Common, a scheme which would involve the destruction of one of the most beautiful bits of landscape within easy reach of London, and the narrow interpretation they have hitherto placed upon their instructions makes it probable that they will renew the proposal even under the Commons Bill. Wisley has become a leading case in commons' inclosure, so that there is not much fear that any provisional order affecting it would be confirmed by Parliament. But, if it had not been rendered famous by former controversies, it would stand in great danger from its distance from any considerable town, and this risk would be averted by the necessity of giving the Corporation of London notice of every proposed inclosure in Surrey.

## QUEEN OR EMPRESS.

IT was hard for the mere philosopher to dispute with the master of fifty legions; and it is in some ways almost as hard to dispute with a Leader of the House of Commons or with a Leader or ex-Leader or quasi-Leader of Opposition. He cannot indeed throw his adversary to the lions, or bid him go and spend the rest of his days in a desert island. But he can do what for the purposes of argument is much the same; he can carry on the argument on his own terms. He can enter on a question which cannot be adequately discussed without going deep into historical arguments, and he may go just as deep into them as his own knowledge enables him, and no further. When he gets to the end of his own tether, he can dexterously imply that anybody who goes further must be a pedant or a dreaming antiquary. And if he does so, he is sure to be rewarded by a laugh. For the House of Commons, like all other assemblies and all individuals, if it does not exactly like to be complimented on its own ignorance, at least likes to be congratulated on the uselessness of the knowledge which it does not happen to possess. He may thus convey the comfortable impression that both himself and the House have hit upon the exact amount of knowledge which becomes them, that any more would be pedantry to be laughed at, while any less would have been ignorance to be ashamed of. In the debate a week back on the proposed title of Empress of India Mr. Disraeli used this art to perfection. He talked about the Antonines, because the House is conventionally supposed to have read Gibbon. He talked about Spenser, because the House is conventionally supposed to have mastered the polite literature of England. He just touched on Henry the Eighth and Charles the Fifth, with a hint that, in speaking of them, he had reached the utmost amount of knowledge that could be deemed decorous; "those might be considered antiquarian illustrations, and he would not dwell on them." Now whether antiquarian illustrations should be dwelled on in debating any question or not depends wholly on the nature of the subject. On some of the points which came before the House that same evening, Knightsbridge Barracks for instance, or Irish Workhouse Teachers, or even the Tichborne Claimant, "antiquarian illustrations" might well be quite out of place. Even on such questions an "antiquarian illustration" might possibly add point to some saying or other; but it could not supply any serious argument. But here Mr. Disraeli starts a question the whole force of which has its roots in the past, and then decries the only mode of investigation which can throw any light upon it. Here are two titles, one of which has, for at least fifteen hundred years, been deemed superior to another title. Mr. Disraeli has to maintain the paradox that it is not superior to it. Conscious that the witness of history is against him, he has to evade the witness of history; and very ingeniously he does it. "I deny that any Imperial dignity is superior to the Queenly title, and I defy any one to prove the reverse." Here comes in the appeal to what is mistakenly called loyalty, and that appeal is of course met with a cheer. Mr. Disraeli is of course "happy to hear that cheer." Now, as it is hard to refute a sneer, it is equally hard to refute a cheer; but neither the sneer nor the cheer gets rid of facts. Mr. Disraeli's defiance is something like the summons at the confirmation of a Bishop, where all objectors are invited to come forward, "and they shall be heard"; and yet, if they do come forward, they are not heard. The plain fact is that the title of Emperor is, and, ever since it came to denote sovereignty at all, always has been, held to be superior to that of King. No defiance, no sneering at "antiquarian illustrations," can get rid of the fact. Mr. Disraeli's own speech is one of the proofs of that fact. If Empress is not a higher title than Queen, what can be the motive for proposing that the Queen should take it? He implies that to assert that Empress is a higher title than Queen is disloyal, or something or other, towards the bearer of the lower title. Mr. Disraeli does not seem to understand that there is often more real dignity in a lower title than in a higher one. The Lord of Coucy was only Lord of Coucy; but he did not wish to be Count or Duke. A man who holds a barony conferred by Edward the First might think twice before he exchanged it for a dukedom conferred by Mr. Disraeli.

We have spoken so often of these questions that we think that we may assume in our readers some notion of the meaning of the word Emperor. We need not go through the whole story, from Augustus and Diocletian to William of Prussia. We assume that our readers have knowledge enough to smile at the odd little scraps of history which are all that Mr. Disraeli has lighted on. We feel sure that they will join with us in a general inward merriment at the moral certainty that, if Mr. Disraeli had known that there had been a long line of Emperors of Britain in early times, if he had known that the Act of Henry the Eighth and the phrase of Spenser are merely links, and not the last links, in a long chain, he would have found out that "antiquarian illustration" might be good for something. Mr. Disraeli may, before he speaks next time, have heard of a "Cyning and Casere totius Britannie"; he may even have got up the great dispute about *Bardeis* and *pié*. If so, we shall be sure to hear something about it; the boundaries of Parliamentary knowledge will be enlarged for the nonce. But let us take Mr. Disraeli as he is, within, to quote his own words, "the range of a limited experience of which he may be proud." The talk about the Antonines is hardly worth refuting; it is perhaps enough to say that in their days the Emperor was still in form a republican magistrate, and also to remind Mr. Dis-

raeli that Marcus was succeeded by Commodus. But Mr. Disraeli presently shows that the study which he gives to Gibbon is not extended to the proclamations which must have been sometimes put out by his own advice. "The Queen," he tells us, "is not her Royal Majesty. The Queen is described properly as Her Majesty. Therefore the clumsy periphrasis of 'Royal and Imperial Majesty' could never occur." Mr. Disraeli does not seem to know that to speak of "Her Majesty," unless her name or title has gone before, is, common as the phrase is, an ungrammatical vulgarism. The proper description is "the Queen's Majesty," "the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty;" and it is not a frivolous question to ask whether that formula is to be changed for "the Queen and Empress's Most Excellent Majesty." Again, a King is called Majesty; an Emperor, to mark the higher position which he claims, is called "Imperial Majesty." If Mr. Disraeli has ever travelled in any part of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy he must have often seen the letters K.K. or I.R., or even their full form, "Kaiserlich-königlich," the very formula which Mr. Disraeli says cannot occur. Officers in various branches are now well pleased to write R.N., R.E., R.A. after their names. It is not a frivolous question to ask whether they are to change them for something answering to the K.K. and I.R. of the compound monarchy just spoken of, and further whether it is to be I.R. or R.I. Then we plunge into Mr. Disraeli's little bit of general history:—"In times which will guide us in any way upon such a subject, I doubt whether there is any precedent of an Emperor ranking superior to a crowned head, unless that crowned head was his avowed feudatory." Mr. Disraeli, who has read Gibbon, may also perhaps have read Macaulay; if so, he may have lighted on passages speaking of "The Emperor, first in rank among Christian princes," "Cæsar in his solitary majesty," phrases which we trust need no explanation to any reader of ours. One smiles when Mr. Disraeli goes on to take what he calls "the most remarkable instance of Imperial sway in modern history." "The most remarkable instance" is of course the thing itself, the Empire handed on from Diocletian to Charles the Fifth, or, in the phrase of Mr. Disraeli, "when the Holy Roman Empire existed, and the German Emperor was crowned at Rome and was called Cæsar." We smile at Mr. Disraeli's grotesque confusions, and go on to what he seems to think a great discovery—namely, that "In those days there were great Kings; there were Kings of France, Kings of Spain, and Kings of England," and, Mr. Disraeli adds, "they never acknowledged the supremacy of the head of the Holy Roman Empire." "Never" sounds a little rash to one who has read the history of Richard the First; but nobody doubts the general truth of the assertion. Those Kings did not admit the supremacy of the Emperor; in the case of Henry the Eighth, quoted by Mr. Disraeli, and in a great number of other cases, they formally or implicitly denied it; but that denial is part of the case against Mr. Disraeli. People do not go out of their way to deny what nobody has asserted. The supremacy of the Emperor had to be denied, because it was asserted; because, while nobody doubted that the Imperial dignity was higher than the Royal, while nobody doubted that Cæsar was "Princeps terre principum," it was expedient to have it understood that he was not practically "Mundi dominus." So again Mr. Disraeli's more modern Russian case tells equally against him. The Russian princes, on taking the title of Emperor, were required by other princes to declare that they did not thereby claim any special precedence. Why this pains about the matter, but because it was understood that, without such a disclaimer, the title would imply precedence, because such precedence was actually allowed to the one ancient and lawful bearer of the title? Still we should like to know something more clearly about the period of history when, as Mr. Disraeli so kindly informs the House, "several female sovereigns flourished in Russia." Mr. Disraeli's date is 1745, a most mysterious year certainly, and one specially interesting to female sovereigns, as it was that in which a Queen of Hungary and Archduchess of Austria in her own right became also Empress Consort of the Romans. What we do not quite understand is how in that year the Empress Elizabeth could have been "influenced by the circumstance that the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle was about to meet." Now the hearts of Kings, as the writers of Henry the Second's day are rather fond of reminding us, are inscrutable, and probably the hearts of Empresses are inscrutable also; so it may be that Elizabeth in 1745 was influenced by the circumstance that the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle was going to meet in 1748. Smaller people would have been more likely to have been influenced by the circumstance that the Congress of Dresden was going to meet in that very year 1745. Then how about the first Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, when most people know that an earlier peace was concluded there in 1668? To be sure Mr. Disraeli is not sure of all this, but thinks it only probable. If so, the probability is of that kind which we admit in the case of things which are too strange not to be true.

In short, Mr. Disraeli first asserts that the title of Emperor is not higher than that of King. He then quotes a few of the endless cases which prove that it is. From these he infers that the two titles mean the same thing; and lastly, because they mean the same thing, he proposes that one should be, if not taken instead of, at least added to the other. There is a tale of a Greek philosopher who said that life and death were the same to him; he was asked why then he did not kill himself, and answered "Because they are the same to me." When the plain question is put to Mr. Disraeli, If Empress and Queen are the same thing, why take the trouble to add one to the other? he first goes off into talk about Spenser, nuggets, and levees, and ends by saying that "the change whose purport the Queen has allowed him to disclose will add splendour



even to her throne and security even to her Empire." If Empress and Queen are the same thing, what fresh splendour or security can be given by calling the Queen Empress?

We turn from the Leader of the Government to him who must still, whenever he chooses to act as such, be looked on as the real Leader of the Opposition. Every Englishman must go along with the eloquent words in which Mr. Gladstone asserted the dignity of the ancient and historic name of Queen of England. But, when Mr. Gladstone gets to the historical discussion of the two titles, he is even more unlucky than Mr. Disraeli. He is, as reported, unlucky to that degree that, if he were an ordinary member speaking on a Wednesday, we should give him the benefit of the judgment of charity, and believe that what is put into his mouth was due to the reporters, and not to himself. But when a member like Mr. Gladstone is speaking on a question like this, we are bound to suppose that some attempt is made to make the report correspond with the speech. It is amazing when we read:—

If I take the Kingship of the Emperor of Austria when he was King of the Romans and also King of Hungary, I find that he was never heard of as King of Hungary or King of the Romans, except in the days when he was crowned with the iron crown in the Cathedral of Milan. He was called Emperor of Austria, and in that title the Kingship was swallowed up.

Whether this comes from Mr. Gladstone or from a reporter, we will not insult our readers by enlarging on the singular chain of confusions which it implies; we will only suggest that the sentence would not be a bad one to set in an examination for the candidates to work out. But what follows is, if possible, more astounding still. "The King of Prussia, when he became German Emperor, ceased, I believe, to be King of Prussia—whether he is so technically or not, I cannot say—and his Kingship also became entirely absorbed." This really takes away our breath. Is it possible that any one, whether Mr. Gladstone or a reporter, can have a moment's doubt as to "Wilhelm Kaiser und König" being just as much King of Prussia as he ever was? Are not the Empire and the Kingdom which is a part of it perfectly distinct? Is there not a Parliament of the Empire and a Parliament of the Kingdom, and is not the popular branch of the Parliament of the Empire elected by universal suffrage, while the Parliament of the Kingdom is not? In this case, it is not Emperor but King which is the absorbing title. Emperor has not absorbed King, but King has absorbed Duke, Margrave, and other smaller names. Then we are told that the title of King is hereditary and the title of Emperor is elective. "If we except Poland, there is no other very strong case we can quote historically of the elective character in conjunction with the title of King." We really need not go about to prove that nearly every kingdom in Europe is a very strong case to the contrary; it may be enough to ask how Mr. Gladstone supposes that the Emperor first became King of the Romans, and to remind him of the long line of English Kings who came to their crown "as men chose them thereto." There is however this difference between Mr. Gladstone's speech and Mr. Disraeli's; both the sound and the unsound parts of it are evidently natural, while Mr. Disraeli's is evidently got up. But it is a little disheartening, when a question arises which can only be discussed on strictly historical ground, to see the foremost men on each side of the House of Commons displaying so small an acquaintance with the history of their own country and of the world in general as was displayed in the debate on the second reading of the Royal Titles Bill.

#### LONDON AND THE MANOR OF LYLLESTON.

THE westward progress of the Gallows, from Smithfield to Paddington, would enable us, if we could trace it, to solve some obscure points in London geography. Until they got as far as St. Giles's Pound, near the junction of Tottenham Court Road with Oxford Street, they retained their early title of "The Elms." There were "Elms" in many places besides London. In some the name has lingered on, though its origin is forgotten, and many a suburban villa derives, in all probability, its genteel appellation from the former presence of a gibbet on the site. It was at the Elms in Smithfield that Wallace, Fraser, and Athol suffered. At St. Giles's the Cobham rioters were hanged, in the reign of Henry V. But at the execution of Mortimer in 1330 we first find the gallows at Tyburn, and henceforth we hear no more of the Elms. They had acquired a more enduring title when the popular ear connected Tyburn with the modes of execution chiefly in vogue. Nor is it surprising that when the gallows were removed westward the name moved with them; and so we have a new Tyburn, not in the manor of Tyburn, but in the manor of Lylleston, and not by the burnside, but on the summit of the neighbouring hill. Lylleston, no doubt, had little anxiety to be identified with Tyburn, and acquiesced silently in the misapplication of the name, withdrawing, for its own part, towards the north-west; so that while, in the beginning of the fifteenth century, the old original Tyburn became St. Marylebone, the manor of Lylleston became Lisson Grove, a name now only remembered in a comparatively remote corner of what was once all Lylleston. But the gallows did not rest there. Crossing the "road to Edgware," they migrated again, and this time found for themselves a third Tyburn, in a real brook, which, rising near the church at Paddington, flows south into the Park; and though it is said to have been generally dry, the course of the stream is

clearly marked by a depression on the Bayswater Road, where the cemetery which contains the remains of Laurence Sterne and many other great men is concealed behind a kind of overgrown vestry. This was the last Tyburn, the Tyburn of modern history. Here it was that Hogarth's "Idle Apprentice" met his fate; here ninety-nine years ago Dr. Dodd was hanged for forging the signature of the young Lord Chesterfield. During the last years before Tyburn, as a national institution, was abolished, the gallows were taken down and set up on each occasion, at a spot near the foot of the Edgware Road; the beams of which the fatal triangle was formed being kept between whiles at the "Carpenters' Arms," an inn which still remains, though sheriffs and juries no longer dine there after the executions as in the good days of old. The strangest sight perhaps that the hill ever witnessed was the posthumous dishonour done to the bodies of Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw after the Restoration, of which an eye-witness has left some particulars. Mr. Thomas Smith, who wrote a curious little book on the history of Hyde Park, quotes from a manuscript diary the information that Cromwell's cere-cloth was green in colour and very fresh. Bradshaw's body had not been embalmed, but was simply wrapped in a winding-sheet, and though the nose had perished, the writer says, "I knew his face," going on to mention that the fingers and toes were pulled off by the mob and handed round, and that he had some of them in his possession. "Ireton," we read, "hung like a dried rat."

It is curious now, when all the natural features of the region have been disguised, to see how completely the old names have perished also. Few people would think of identifying Tyburn with the districts round Cavendish Square and Portland Place, and fewer still would have an idea where to place Lylleston on the London map. But, by a curious train of events, Tyburn has become a name of historical importance, and Lylleston has so utterly disappeared that even such a learned man as the late Mr. Lambert Larking, in his volume on the Hospitallers, published in 1857 by the Camden Society, seems not to have known where it was, and puts "(Littleton?)" to the word in his index. Yet Lylleston is really the site of what most of us know as Tyburn, and Tyburn itself has become St. Marylebone. To distinguish the two manors it is necessary to go back to Domesday itself, and to thread a maze of subdivisions so complicated that even the painstaking Lysons gave up the attempt. Lisson, or Lylleston, is the western half of the parish of St. Marylebone, and may be roughly described as the portion which has Duke Street, Manchester Square, and Baker Street on the east, and Edgware Road on the west. In reality its eastern frontier was marked by the bourne or brook which has given its name, first to Tyburn, and afterwards to St. Mary "le Borne," and which, rising on the south-western slope of Hampstead Hill, runs close by Lord Hertford's villa in the Regent's Park, crosses the road opposite Sussex Place, and reaches High Street a little south of the cemetery. The road from Edgware, on the other hand, following, as it did, the direction of the Watling Street, is perfectly straight, until it reaches Hyde Park, where its further progress towards the Thames is now stopped. Two hundred years ago the greater part of the manor was void of buildings, and though we have not equal information regarding both the northern and the southern districts into which it was early divided, we know something of the gradual increase of the buildings. The manor was one of those marked in Domesday as "terra in elemosina data," and was in the occupation of one Eideva, who held it of the King. It was worth sixty shillings, and was assessed for five hides. It would be interesting to know how it came to the Hospitallers, and when. But in 1338 it was among the possessions of the Priory of St. John at Clerkenwell, and contained, as we read, twenty acres of meadow, with a hundred of wood, and was worth ten pounds. It was then occupied by "Dominus Willelmus de Clyf" for the term of his life, and "unum mesuagium" is spoken of as upon it. So far, it seems to have been undivided. There was much wild land. There was some farm land; and the manor-house very probably stood where, with a different name, it still stands. There is no mention of the gallows, but when we get another and later account of the manor, they had evidently been long set up in the south-western corner. In 1512 the Prior of the Order, "Lord Thomas Docwra," granted to John Blennerhasset and Johan his wife a lease for fifty years of a farm which comprises the whole of what is now the Portman estate. The farm is very fully described, and has never since been divided. It is called a "parcel of the manor of Lilestone, in the county of Middlesex, late in the tenure of Thomas Hobson, under the annual rent of 8*l.*, payable at their house in Clerkenwell," and consisted of six fields, besides twenty acres of "Furse Croft" and two closes called "Shepcott Haws," which may be translated into the bushes by the sheepfold. The names of the six fields are the most valuable. From them we learn, not only that people were hanged in the neighbourhood, but that they were there hanged in chains, and that, for the rest, the district resembled the neighbouring districts of Hyde and Marylebone in that it was devoted to field sports. It was sometimes said a little later that Henry VIII. could pass from his palace at St. James's to Highgate through hunting grounds; and we can well understand it when we read that, besides the Great Gibbet Field and the Little Gibbet Field, this estate contained a place for badger-baiting, the Brock stand, as well as a Hawk Field and a Tassel Croft, where probably falcons were trained. The exact situation of each of these divisions cannot now be ascertained. The two Gibbet Fields were probably towards the south-western corner; the furzes and haws beyond a depression, almost amount-

ing to the dignity of a ravine, which ran east and west a little to the northward of what is now Upper Berkeley Street.

Of Thomas Hobson, the tenant before Blennerhasset, we know little, except that he leased much land in this part of London. Certain it is that the two greatest estates now in the parish, those namely of the Duke of Portland and of the Viscount Portman, as well as a piece of the Regent's Park, all belonged to him, and had he but foreseen their future importance, we might now have among our dukes a name upon which so far little lustre has been shed, though it is not wholly unknown to fame. The Cambridge carrier of a later generation, the owner of the dog whose pride occasioned its violent death, the man who let horses to undergraduates, and insisted on their always taking the one which had rested longest and stood next the door (whence "Hobson's choice"), might, if old Thomas Hobson had known better, have figured with Seymours and Bentincks among our most ancient nobility. But the chance of founding a great family was seized with much greater foresight by the Chief Justice, Sir William Portman. He first bought the lease from Blennerhasset's executors, and after the dissolution bought the reversion of the freehold. This reversion had been sold or given by Philip and Mary to one William Morgan and another, having fallen to the Crown on the dissolution; and so when Sir William's lease ran out he became the owner, and the two hundred and twenty acres, including Great Gibbet Field and Little Gibbet Field, became the Portman estate. To trace the further descent of the farm would be only tedious; but, in order to understand the significance of the names which have so completely superseded those of the Great Gibbet Field and the rest, we may note that the male line of the Portmans failed with the great-grandson of Sir William, on which the estate went to William Berkeley, whose mother, a Speke, was niece of the last of the Portmans. The Berkeleys, however, did not inherit at once, as the estate was bequeathed first to one of the Seymours, a descendant of the Protector Somerset. Thus we have Berkeley Street and Seymour Street, and, from the original name of the owner, now assumed by the Berkeleys, we have Portman Square, which was begun about the year 1760. Previously "Great Berkeley Street" ran from Manchester Square to the Edgware Road, and the square was not completed for upwards of twenty years. Most of the houses have been built since the middle of the last century, and two Adam Streets and two Quebec Streets supply us both with the name of the architect and an approximate date, though fashion did not incline to the new district until the monthly show at "Tyburn" had been abolished in 1783. Orchard-Portman and Bryanston in Dorsetshire, the country seats of its possessors, give their names to various blocks of building, and though the Board of Works have "abolished subsidiary names," and one of the Adam Streets has disappeared, it was easy a few years ago to distinguish the boundaries of the estate by the names at the corners. The present value of this farm it would be impossible to estimate correctly, but it may be worth while to observe that the eight pounds which was Hobson's rent for the present Portman estate would, if multiplied by twenty, only bring a sum equal to what is now paid for a moderately good house on the same land; and there are probably as many as fifteen hundred such houses on the estate.

The Portman estate, however, forms only a part of the whole manor. The house and park about it had a very different history, and one by no means so simple as that of the manor farm. The grounds were divided and subdivided. A part once marked by Lyon Place, a "subsidiary name" in Edgware Road, was purchased by Lyon, the founder of Harrow School; but the greater portion of the shrunk manor of Lylleston, then known as Lisson Grove, together with the manor-house, was in 1792 the property of a certain Captain Lloyd of the Guards. He sold it in lots, and the number of owners was indefinitely increased, though a great part of the estate, and the manor-house itself, passed into the hands of a Mr. Harcourt. He rebuilt the house in a handsome style, and it still exists, though its original name is long forgotten. The usefulness of Queen Charlotte's Lying-in Hospital might be impaired if it were still called Lylleston Manor House; but a future biographer may find it a convenient way of mentioning the birthplace of some one who has risen in the world. The park and mansion have thus lost their ancient character; the house has become a hospital, and the park a labyrinth of crowded and squalid dwellings; while the farm, when it had for centuries been identified with all that is disreputable in our annals, and had been, so to speak, repudiated by the manor, and forced to change its name, has now become the site of a quarter hardly less fashionable than the neighbouring Grosvenor district. If the name of Tyburn survives at all, it is neither in the original Tyburn, nor even in Lylleston, the later Tyburn, but in Tyburnia, the more aristocratic part of the parish of Paddington. The "unum messuagium" of 1338 has been turned into the thousands of houses, the hundreds of streets and squares, which reach from Manchester Square to the Edgware Road. An iron tablet in the Park railing is all that remains of the turnpike. Tyburn Lane has become Park Lane, and Tyburn Road Oxford Street. The modern inquirer will endeavour in vain to identify Great Gibbet Field with Portman Square, or Shepcott Haws with the site of Quebec Chapel.

WALT WHITMAN.

A STRANGELY impudent agitation has just been started with regard to what is called "Walt Whitman's Actual American Position." Whitman, it may be explained, is an American writer who some years back attracted attention by a volume of so-called poems which were chiefly remarkable for their absurd extravagance and shameless obscenity, and who has since, we are glad to say, been little heard of among decent people. It now appears that, although there is a small *coterie* of persons in this country who are not ashamed to confess their liking for Whitman's nastiness, his own countrymen have universally repudiated him. "The real truth," says an American journal, which has taken up the subject apparently in the interest of Whitman, "is that, with the exception of a very few readers, Whitman's poems in their public reception have fallen still-born in this country. They have been met, and are met to-day, with the determined denial, disgust, and scorn of orthodox American authors, publishers, and editors, and in a pecuniary and worldly sense have certainly wrecked the life of their author." "No established publishing house will publish his books. Most of the stores will not even sell them." "Repeated attempts to secure a small income by writing for the magazines during his illness have been utter failures. The *Atlantic* will not touch him. His offerings to *Scribner* are returned with insulting notes; the *Galaxy* the same. Harper's did print a couple of his pieces two years ago, but imperative orders from head-quarters have stopped anything further. All the established American poets studiously ignore Whitman." We are of course sorry that Whitman, or any other man, should be in sore distress, but we must say that we are very glad indeed to hear that his writings are unsaleable, and that no respectable publisher or editor in America will give him countenance by printing his contributions. This fact, if it is true, shows that the moral sense of the American public is, after all, not quite so much deadened as some recent events might lead one to imagine. If the *New York Herald* will not have anything to do with Walt Whitman, it is a proof that even the *Herald* draws the line somewhere. We can only regret that the same view is not taken by all publishers on this side of the ocean, and that there is one firm at least in London which is not ashamed to advertise a "complete" edition of Whitman's works. We have no desire to pry into the details of Whitman's private life. The description which he gives of himself in his writings as "disorderly, fleshly, sensual," and fond of loafing, is not perhaps to be taken in a literal sense; and in any case we have no desire to speculate as to how far his private life may have been imprudent or irregular. The important fact is that he has found it impossible to get a living by his writings, which are everywhere shunned and rejected. Considering the character of these writings, this seems to us a very natural and desirable result, and it is difficult to understand why people should be expected to buy an article which disgusts them. Some of Mr. Whitman's friends and admirers in London have, however, worked themselves into a state of theatrical indignation with regard to the treatment of this great man by his unappreciative and ungrateful countrymen. Mr. Robert Buchanan, who has made himself the mouthpiece of this extraordinary agitation, not only claims for Whitman "literary immortality," but exalts his "ineffable goodness" and "beneficence," and declares, in a passage flavoured with a touch of blasphemy which we prefer not to quote, that "only this last consecration of Martyrdom was wanting to complete our poet's apotheosis." Mr. Buchanan, being himself a poet, naturally chafes against the restraints of ordinary prose, and we are treated to a wonderful picture, in the highest style of fine language, of a "golden eagle sick to death, worn with age and famine, or with both, passing with weary waft of wing from promontory to promontory, from peak to peak, pursued by a crowd of prosperous rooks and crows, who fall screaming back whenever the noble bird turns his indignant head, and which follow frantically once more, hooting behind him, whenever he ascends again on his way." This is all very fine no doubt in its way, but it may be thought to be hardly a fair description of the case of a dirty bird which is shunned on account of its unclean habits. Mr. Buchanan also breaks out into furious vituperation against all American publishers and men of letters, whom he abuses in the most vulgar terms; and warns the American nation collectively that its "honour will be tarnished eternally by the murder of its only remaining prophet." Mr. Buchanan concludes by what is really an insulting appeal to his own countrymen, as "loving and revering" this apostle of beastliness, to give him "a substantial proof of the honour in which he is held here in the heart of England."

From the height of this rhapsodical outburst it is a sad descent to the prosaic facts of the case. It is of course open to any one who admires, or is simply sorry for, Whitman to subscribe for his support; but it is difficult to understand why those who dislike his flagrant indecencies should be denounced because they do not feel inclined to give him any encouragement. Mr. Buchanan himself, though he does not scruple to rank Whitman with the Saviour, and declares that his teaching is "as Heavenly manna," thinks it necessary to "disclaim entire sympathy with Whitman's materialistic idealism, which seems to go too far in the direction of illuminating the execrable." Mr. Buchanan does not explain exactly what he means by "execrable," but in any sense such an admission goes far to justify the distrust and loathing with which Whitman is regarded both here and in America. Mr. Buchanan holds that "these great experiments in poetry" are "destined to exercise an extraordinary influence on the future of religion as well as poetry," and this, he



says, "no one who has read his works will deny." Public opinion, however, both here and in America, has expressed itself very decisively as to these great experiments; and there is very little chance of Mr. Buchanan or any of his associates bringing the world round to a different view. It is no doubt true that there are many people who have never read Whitman's so-called poetry all through, but enough is known to show that it is an attempt to make animal brutality and indecency pass for poetry. No doubt the present effort to revive curiosity on the subject will be a useful advertisement to any bookseller who happens to have a stock of Whitman's garbage on hand. It must be remembered, however, that his earlier works have been before the public for some twenty years, and that during the whole of that time the opinion originally formed of them has been steadily sustained, and, if possible, intensified; and there is, we imagine, very little danger of this judgment being now reversed by friendly puffery and agitation, even when such great authorities as Mr. Buchanan suppose himself to be taking up the matter. There are, no doubt, questions both of art and philosophy on which public opinion at times goes astray; but in the present instance the elementary instincts of mankind are sufficient to settle the question. There would indeed need to be a very remarkable change both in the moral and intellectual constitution of educated people before such writings as those of Whitman could be accepted as, in any sense, honest literature.

When Mr. Buchanan screeches about "literary outlawry," "murder," and "official persecution," he is obviously only talking nonsense. We have no desire to say anything in disparagement of American publishers, but they are no doubt not absolutely exempt from the weaknesses of other tradesmen; and we suspect that, if there really were a market anywhere for Whitman's wares, he would have no difficulty in finding some one to retail them for him. It is reasonable to assume that American publishers and editors know their own business, and that they have sufficient reasons for having nothing to do with Mr. Whitman. He has chosen to identify himself with unsavoury things, and whatever he might now write, his name would be a taint to any respectable periodical. The fact is that it was only the indecent exposure which Whitman made of himself in the first instance that attracted passing attention to him as a sort of psychological monstrosity. Apart from his scandalous eccentricities, his writings are poor stuff, and the affectation of deep philosophy is easily seen through. The assumption that a man who sets himself to outrage public decency should be gratefully supported by public charity is certainly a very curious one. Mr. Buchanan asserts that his idol has many worshippers in this country, but we venture to say that this is a part of his delusion; and we may add that those who are so unfortunate in their tastes as to belong to this sect would perhaps act prudently for themselves in not proclaiming it too loudly. The conclusion would seem to be that the "illumination of the execrable" is not a remunerative business; and so far the lesson is a useful one, and may be taken to heart by any other writers who have a weakness that way. There is also, however, a general principle underlying Mr. Buchanan's letter which deserves notice. He appears to imagine that society is bound, as a matter of course, to contribute to the maintenance of any one who chooses to set up as a man of genius. The genius may be less apparent than some other characteristics, but society is bound all the same to accept implicitly the claimant's own assurance, and that of a few sympathetic friends, that he is a genius, and to provide for him accordingly. This, we fancy, is a favourite idea with a certain class of poets, who have usually reasons of their own for holding that their incomes ought not to be dependent merely on the popularity of their works and the respect in which they are held by those who know them. Instances can no doubt be mentioned of great poets who were not sufficiently appreciated while alive; but, on the other hand, it would be rather hazardous to undertake to provide for every one who, believing himself to be a poet, could not get a living by his works. We should then have a fine flock of hard-up "golden eagles" eager to take advantage of public charity. If the appeal on behalf of Whitman were based simply on his age and indigence, we should not think ourselves bound to say anything against it. But the plan proposed is to help him to circulate his writings, and thus implies approval of them. It is satisfactory to believe that agitation for such a purpose is likely to prove as futile as it is audacious.

#### MONTALEMBERT'S LAST WORDS.

OUR readers may recollect that we referred some weeks ago to a violent attack made in the Ultramontane newspapers, both English and foreign, on Dr. Dollinger and Mr. Gladstone, for an alleged breach of honour and good faith. They were charged with publishing private papers of the late Count de Montalembert, which happened to have fallen into their hands, in defiance of the wishes, and even the urgent request, of his natural representatives, and to the injury of his reputation. "Indecent," "insulting," "scandalous," "blackening character," were among the polite epithets lavished on the "distinguished" culprits. We were able to state at the time that Mr. Gladstone had nothing whatever to do with the matter, and we ventured to surmise with tolerable confidence that, if Dr. Dollinger was really concerned in it, he had good reasons for acting as he did, and had violated no confidence. The mystery is cleared up now, and it turns out as we suspected—first, that Dr. Dollinger had as little to do with the publi-

cation as Mr. Gladstone, and, secondly, that it took place in accordance with the express directions of the illustrious author himself. The famous paper—for such it has now become—*L'Espagne et la Liberté* is now in course of publication in the *Bibliothèque Universelle et Revue Suisse*, and the editor prefixes to the first part of it, in the number for January, an explanatory notice. When the article was refused admission into the *Correspondant*, Montalembert sent copies of it to several friends, among whom was Father Hyacinthe, and a letter addressed to him on January 17, 1869, expressly authorized its publication after his death. This authorization was never revoked, although the two friends were in constant and affectionate intercourse to the last. Father Hyacinthe accordingly wrote after Montalembert's death to his family and executors to ascertain their intentions about the paper, and they replied that it would appear in one of the volumes of his posthumous works. He therefore took no further steps himself, but after waiting five years he has naturally judged it quite time to carry out Montalembert's directions, which it had become pretty clear would otherwise remain a dead letter. This article is, as the editor remarks, "in some sort his political, literary, and religious testament." And we may add for ourselves that it acquires a still further interest from its direct bearing on the present circumstances of Spain. Only the other day the *Times* quoted from the *Voce della Verità* an article on the collapse of the Carlist insurrection, embodying, in language sufficiently unequivocal, the very principles which it was Montalembert's aim to combat and denounce in these, his almost dying words. It speaks of the suppression of "*Christian principles* identified in Carlism," of the Alfonsists as monarchical traitors, "opposing a bastard Christianity to Catholicism," and of the failure of "the two Christian Monarchies" (of Henry V. and Charles VII.) in France and Spain. We give one short extract:—

In Spain, who believes in pacification after the defeat of Charles VII. ? The religious act which the Madrid diplomatists celebrated in Rome on Sunday last in the church of Santa Maria di Monserrato, instead of a *Te Deum*, should have been a *Miserere*. The great misfortunes of poor Spain commence now.

What Montalembert thought of the position of Don Carlos and Isabella will appear presently. But he takes a more comprehensive view of Spanish affairs, and traces the evils under which the country is now suffering to causes long anterior to any modern quarrel of rival claimants for the throne.

We are bidden at the beginning to contemplate the "grand and prodigious spectacle and lesson" of what was once the first nation in the Christian world, now enervated, debased, poisoned, dishonoured by a long course of spiritual and temporal despotism—the absolute monarchy and the Inquisition. The writer recalls with enthusiasm the "rude and robust adolescence" of its heroic age, which four centuries of despotism have destroyed. For up to the end of the fourteenth century the power of the Inquisition was hardly felt, and Jews and Moors were left in peace. The eight marvellous centuries which went before, whatever their occasional faults of pride and cruelty, present a noble spectacle on the whole, in marked contrast to the subsequent period; "*jamais l'ombre du valet ni du courtisan. Toute bassesse y est inconnue, impossible.*" "Spain up to the nineteenth century was a confederacy of republics, rather municipal than feudal, of which the Kings were but the presidents, each having its own laws, usages, rights, spirit, and distinct individual life. There was life and independence everywhere." It was the prototype of that English Constitution which Montalembert so ardently admired:—

Strange and wholly forgotten as it is, and though it seems almost incredible, it cannot be denied that the Spanish preceded by a century the English themselves in the understanding, acquisition, and practice of all public and civil liberties. A parliamentary royalty, restrained and controlled, that is, by the national assemblies, when already lost in France and scarcely sketched out in England, was universally recognized in Spain, when the Black Prince came to fight with our Duguesclin. The English historians, with Robertson at their head, are the first to avow it.

But on this glorious past there supervened the most lamentable transformation the world has ever witnessed. "And for what cause? The abdication of an entire people in favour of its masters, and the too intimate union of the altar and the throne." It was when the monarchy absorbed all power, with the aid of the Inquisition, and the victorious Church abused its victory by proscribing first Jews, then Moors, then Protestants, then all discussion, research, or liberty, that all was lost. The once noble nation degenerated into a race of persecutors and slaves. Without at all adopting the modern dream of an absolute separation of Church and State, the author thinks even that a thousandfold preferable to the absorption of either power by the other, and their mutual identification and "*exploitation*." But for more than three centuries the Inquisition, "created for the service of God and their Highnesses," as the first Grand Inquisitor said in 1484, was the scourge of Spain and the horror of the Christian world, an irresponsible secret police, superseding even episcopal authority. Catholics indeed have abundant reason to curse its memory, but not—the author thinks—contemporary democrats, whose cause it has served, and whom it has supplied with a precedent; the Inquisition was the model of our modern terrorists. This monstrous institution became the vampire which at last swallowed up all society, and never ceased to act till it had left nothing to destroy. The period of despotism began with Charles V., "who enthroned Cæsarism in the freest of all countries, and infected the whole of Europe." And to this evil father succeeded a yet more evil son, Philip II., who consummated his work. "The soul of Spain was petrified in his bloody hands; henceforth it only survived in a state of intermittent

sleep, broken by *autos-da-fé*." And the condition of its subject States was, if possible, worse. We may take as an example Guzman, Viceroy of Naples from 1637 to 1644, who boasted that he had not left four families in a condition to make a good meal. The destruction of all intellectual life naturally followed the destruction of all public and civil life. "Ignorance and stupidity became the one way of salvation." Material decadence followed on moral; the country became depopulated and sterile, and at last, "army, marine, commerce, industry, agriculture, population, science, literature, arts, influence, all disappeared together." There is not such another example of national ruin in history. From the sixteenth century Spain has had no great statesman, general, or prince; in the eighteenth she had not even an artist or author worth naming, while France, England, and Germany were in the zenith of their glory. The Marquis of Argenson, Foreign Minister of Louis XV., after examining the condition of Spain, speaks of a "corrupt Court, courtier ministers, greedy women, *marâtres et intrigantes*"; of a cruel and superstitious piety, whole provinces without inhabitants, and winds up his description, "Un roi espagnol n'est que le chef d'un serail dévot." At last came Napoleon and Murat, and the Inquisition terminated its shameful and hideous career by wallowing in the dust at their feet; it published an edict, the day after the rising of Madrid and the atrocious massacre of innocents, covering the French with eulogies, and stigmatizing its countrymen as "seditious, treacherous, and rebellious."

And here Montalembert pauses in his gloomy retrospect to inquire what are the hopes of a recovery of Spain. Every one acknowledges the fine qualities of the people, misgoverned and corrupted as they have been. They are good, courteous, affable, hospitable, full of natural grace and dignity, sober, frugal, and high-spirited; and the poison of tyranny has not here, as in the East, tainted the sources of life. He therefore hopes for their recovery, "with the fervour of Christian charity and liberal fraternity," but does not venture to predict it. There is indeed no incompatibility between the masculine and free spirit of the people and their religious faith, which has, in truth, imparted to it a fresh energy and ardour; the fault lay in the too close alliance between the Church and the absolute monarchy. As to the quarrel between the rival dynasties, the fact happens to be that Isabella represents the ancient Spanish right, and Don Carlos a novel right, the sole creation of monarchical omnipotence; though, by a strange caprice of destiny, she has been taken to represent modern ideas, and Don Carlos all the superannuated and retrograde interests and sympathies of absolutism, and he has accordingly had the support of the partisans of spiritual and temporal despotism all over Europe. The Salic law is no part of the genuine monarchical traditions of Spain, as it was in France, but was introduced by a mere arbitrary and autocratic act of Philip V., in contravention of those traditions, and consequently on true Legitimist principles Isabella has a better claim than Don Carlos. Not that her fall had anything to do with these considerations one way or the other. She lost her crown because her conduct had produced a moral revolution in the heart of her people, but there was as little to admire or respect in her enemies as in her supporters. It was a mistake, the author thinks—and he did not live to see it remedied—in sacrificing her to proscribe her whole family. We may presume therefore that, were he still among us, his sympathies would be with Alfonso.

It is however chiefly in the interests of religion that Montalembert took up his pen, and not to advocate the claims of this or that particular dynasty, and he accordingly animadverts with a very just severity on the Ultramontane view of the situation, which, as we have already seen, is especially enamoured of what he has shown to be the fatal vices of the political and ecclesiastical government of Spain. It is rather amusing, however, to find the *Catholicque de Bruxelles* of September 26, 1868, applying to Isabella's sovereignty the very term applied by the *Voce della Verità* in March 1876 to Don Carlos, who had not then come into the field. "Si Isabella succombait, l'Espagne serait perdue pour le Catholicisme, perdue pour la cause de l'ordre en Europe, et le dernier gouvernement Chrétien aurait disparu du vieux monde." As though, remarks the author, Belgium was not a Christian Government, or England, "where for thirty years has reigned a woman who wears the most glorious (*resplendissante*) crown of the modern world, without a breath of calumny having ever tarnished her fair fame"; and then follows a long and eloquent passage contrasting the reigns of Victoria and Isabella. Montalembert sees nothing to find fault with in the programme of the revolutionary Junta of Madrid in October 1868, though it includes "liberty of worship," which the Ultramontanes indignantly denounce as incompatible with Catholicism, bidding Spain choose between the two, for both together she cannot keep. "And pray, why not? O great and little prophets!" asks their critic; and he challenges them to name a single country in the world where liberty of worship has injured Catholicism, unless it be Italy, where the question is complicated by other and exceptional considerations. On the contrary, speaking as a politician and a practical man, he feels sure that it has gained immensely by this liberty in France, Belgium, Holland, England, Ireland, Germany, and Switzerland; and he denies that this liberty is an invention of Protestantism; "it is the instinctive outgrowth of the modern spirit and the needs of modern society." Here we may observe in passing that Montalembert is unquestionably correct as a matter of history. The Reformers of the sixteenth century, one and all, as we have more than once had occasion to show, proclaimed this principle of in-

tolerance in the most emphatic terms, and acted upon it whenever they had the power. Montalembert, by the way, quotes with warm approval what was, when he wrote, a recent observation of our own (*Saturday Review*, Oct. 17, 1868), that "Sweden is now left alone in her glory as the one persecuting country in Europe." Liberty of worship, he says, is like the printing press; "it may be used for good or evil, but one cannot part with it." Catholics may detest and abuse it, if they choose, instead of taking advantage of it, but they will be obliged to rest content with "a Platonic enmity." That liberty of all kinds may be grossly abused is not at all denied, and there is a severe and powerful criticism, not without a good deal of justice, on the illiberality of Liberals, specially as exemplified not in the professions but the practice of the Spanish Government in 1868. We have no room, however, for any further extracts. Our main object has been to give our readers some notion of the contents of these remarkable papers, which they will find well worth perusing in their entirety. We may perhaps have occasion to return to them hereafter when the series is complete.

#### SERVANTS.

THE letter to the *Daily Telegraph* in which Mr. Charles Reade, with his accustomed mingling of force and extravagance, lately proposed a simple remedy for an evil state of things which has long existed, has, as might be expected, produced innumerable replies. Mr. Reade, referring to the death of a sempstress by starvation, headed his letter with the striking phrase "Starvation Refusing Plenty," and said that he had observed the world to be full of "live counterparts" who could never find each other out, in spite of the advertisement sheet, which he regards as "an incalculable boon to mankind." This institution, according to him, has done much to bring together "counterpart individuals," but has failed to bring together two counterpart classes consisting of, "say, two thousand honest, virtuous, industrious young women, working hard and half starved," and "at least twenty thousand other women holding out plenty in both hands, and that plenty rejected with scorn by young women of very little merit," or accepted only under certain vexatious conditions. This statement seems a little obscure, but Mr. Reade went on to "speak more plainly," and to assert what is undoubtedly true, that it becomes more and more difficult as time goes on to obtain good servants, and that masters and mistresses are very often the victims of oppression. There is nothing new in this; but since the days of Mr. Leech's "Servantism" pictures the matter has fallen more or less out of notice. And there is of course another side to the question which Mr. Leech's keen and just observation did not pass over. All of us know a household or two where the inattention and insolence of servants are clearly enough marked, where an autocratic power is wielded by a butler to whose whims habit induces the whole house to submit, or is divided between him and a long-established upper housemaid who is at no pains to conceal her resentment at the trouble given by the presence of visitors. In such houses the mere inquiry whether the master or mistress is at home is regarded as an insult, and you are made to feel that you experience a signal mark of condescension in receiving an answer to it. Other servants of this class, which may be regarded as the worst, may be seen any evening pushing and scrambling, regardless of anything but their own convenience, to call up carriages at the end of a play. For the unmannerly behaviour which characterizes this class of servants there are invariably faults on both sides to account. Want of consideration leads their employers to regard servants as necessary adjuncts of human life, but as having no part of their own in it, and natural self-assertion leads the servants to draw attention to their existence by making things as unpleasant as they can to their employers and their employers' guests. Thus the relations of master and servant develop into an endurance, on the one side, which is patient from mere laziness of all kinds of discomfort, and an ever-growing tyranny on the other.

It is not of this kind of service that Mr. Reade's letter treated, but it will, we think, be found that the same selfishness among employers which fosters the conduct we have spoken of in the better-paid class of servants operates as a reason against "half-starved sempstresses" entering a service which, according to Mr. Reade, offers every comfort of life in return for very moderate exertions. It is to be feared, however, that he has represented the conditions of service rather as they ought to be than as they are. "It is true," he says, "that a female servant cannot run into the street whenever she likes. But she sometimes goes on errands, and takes her time. She slips out eternally, and gets out one evening, at least, every week. . . . She comes out of a single room, where she pigs with her relations, and she receives as remuneration for her services a nice clean room all to herself." The letter went on to state, what seems to us fair enough, that there is no reason why servants' wages should be raised in proportion to mechanics', as in the latter case the price of provisions has to be considered, while in the former it has not; and it concluded by saying that the pay of a housemaid in kind and money amounts to about 70*s.* a year. There may, no doubt, be housemaids' places corresponding to the attractive description which Mr. Reade has given, but it is doubtful whether a girl who came, as he delicately puts it, from "pigging with her relations," would be capable of filling them. A number of indig-



nant denials that this state of things prevails in the houses whence servants come has naturally enough been sent to the paper where Mr. Reade's letter appeared, and there have been as many denials that either the accommodation or the liberty given to servants in most houses is as desirable as his statements would make it appear. Again, in the slight glance which he has given to the question of character, he has, we must think, greatly exaggerated the ease with which situations can be obtained. Three thousand houses, according to his letter, are open to a young woman "who can prove that she is not a thief." His argument would seem to be that three thousand masters or mistresses have grown so tired of the difficulty of finding good servants that they are ready to take any girl who can prove that she is honest, no matter how little she may know of the duties to be expected from her. We doubt, however, whether the difficulties are so great as to have led to this result. In the ideal household of Mr. Reade's letter it is likely that people would be extremely careful in ascertaining the capabilities of any servant they engaged; and honesty does not necessarily imply an acquaintance with housemaid's work, or even the power of acquiring it. Where servants are well treated, it is presumable that their work is well done, and, however anxious the mistress of a house may be to relieve the distress of an honest sempstress, she may find it impossible to spend time in teaching her a new calling. There are, unfortunately, many people among the class that employs well-paid servants who are, from a variety of causes, extremely careless in giving characters to servants who are leaving them; and experience of this has rendered others proportionately careful in inquiring about the character of servants who apply for places. When a guarantee of all desirable accomplishments is only accepted with searching scrutiny, it is not likely that a girl who can prove nothing in her favour beyond honesty will be received with acclamation. Besides this, it might not be the easiest thing in the world for a sempstress, however admirable her character, to procure a testimony which should ensure her being accepted as an honest servant.

It seems to us that Mr. Reade, in handling his "counterparts," has mixed up two classes. There is a class of people, no doubt, who want servants and who will not be too strict as to the characters of those whom they engage; but it is not among them that servants will find the comforts which Mr. Reade imagines to be held out in every direction. The places which can be obtained with comparative ease are not attractive enough to make the wholesale conversion of sempstresses into housemaids which he proposes at all probable. They are places filled by the drudges whom many men who have lived in lodgings, especially at a University, where this unhappy kind abounds, must have noticed and pitied. The girl who fills such a place as this is emphatically a maid-of-all-work. Employed by tradespeople whose stock of courtesy is entirely reserved for their customers, she is expected, besides doing nearly all the work of the house, to be ready at all times to attend both to her master and mistress and to their lodgers. Her temper is tried in every way from morning till night; if she succeeds in getting through her duties well and cheerfully under great difficulties, she gets no sort of humane recognition for her services from her employers; and if a lodger rashly addresses a kindly word to her, she will probably be accused of shameful conduct in "carrying on" with him. If she is so ill advised as to fall ill, the reproaches addressed to her for her uselessness and the trouble she gives will make her quickly repent. It is small wonder that many servants of this class should be hopeless slatterns, and no wonder at all that the two thousand honest, virtuous, industrious young women of Mr. Reade's letter should not be anxious to fill their places. On the other hand, we need not be surprised if the "twenty thousand other women holding out plenty in both hands" are not all of them ready to take entirely untrained servants into their houses.

A good instance of what is not unfrequently thought and expected of servants has been given by a writer who, answering Mr. Reade's letter, quoted this praise of a servant, presumably of all-work, by a mistress:—"She has been with me nearly a month, and I never saw her equal for work. She never sits down except to her meals, and the day we washed she didn't have a thing but a glass of beer." The same writer explained that she had never had any difficulty in getting good servants, and, according to the account given of her household, this can be easily understood. She suggests, among other things, that a servant is driven into temptation when she is made "to walk about the streets, or sit in a public-house if she is too tired to walk with her sweetheart," because young men are on no pretence allowed in the house. Her letter, which seems to us more to the point than anything else which has appeared on the subject, ends by saying, "Let mistresses try kindness and friendly sympathy. I have done so, and found it answer." There is much truth in this, if it does not go quite to the root of the matter. We are not prepared to deny that the spirit of absurd conceit and encroachment which Mr. Leech ridiculed in his pictures of "Servantism" exists now as much as it did then. There is, indeed, an undue tendency to self-glorification among all who sell their manual labour. But in the case of servants we are disposed to believe that this is frequently fostered by the want of humanity of which we have spoken, and that in a house where "kindness and friendly sympathy" (which of course should not degenerate into spoiling) are exercised towards servants there will not be any great difficulty in filling vacant places; though there may be very great difficulty indeed in preventing vacancies from arising often than could be wished. In fact, it is really less difficult nowadays to get good servants than to keep them. Two or three

years of a good place are usually as much as the capricious restlessness of the modern domestic can bear; and the mistress is exceptionally fortunate whose "kindness and friendly sympathy" have succeeded in producing an attachment that will be proof against the inveterate love of change for the sake of change.

#### HELIGOLAND.

ON Tuesday evening the House of Lords had a debate on India, the greatest, while on Monday evening it had turned its attention to Heligoland, the smallest, possession of the British Crown. As the number of persons who know where Heligoland is may perhaps be limited, we will mention that it is an island, or rather group of islands, in the German Ocean, twenty-five miles from the mouths of the Elbe, Weser, and Eider. The main island is divided into the cliff and the low land. The cliff is a rock rising to an elevation of 90 to 170 feet above the level of the sea. The summit is a tolerably level plain, about 4,200 paces in circumference. The lowland adjoining has two good harbours. The circumference of the whole island does not exceed three miles. In former ages it was of much greater extent. It has been during many centuries much consumed by the waves, and lately it has been eaten up by rabbits. It was anciently the residence of a chief of the Sicambri, and the seat of worship of a Saxon deity. When the English took possession of it in 1807, during the war with Denmark, it became the depot for goods which were smuggled into Continental ports; the low land, which had been an uninhabited down, was covered with warehouses; and the population of the island increased to 4,000. More recently it has been a favourite site for gambling-tables, where perhaps the worship of the Saxon deity was continued. On the conclusion of peace in 1814 the English retained possession of the island, probably for the sake of its double harbour, and for the advantage which it offers for defence in having two wells of good water. The English erected batteries and a lighthouse. They placed there a governor and a garrison, but levied no taxes, and did not interfere with the internal government. It is of course under the superintendence of the Colonial Office, and Lord Carnarvon, who is indefatigable in the business of making things pleasant all round with colonists, has not neglected to propitiate the descendants of the Sicambri.

We are indebted to Lord Rosebery for calling our attention to this interesting colony by moving for papers relating to Heligoland. It has been said that by the capitulation of 1807 the ancient rights and liberties of the inhabitants were secured to them, and Lord Rosebery desires to ascertain what those ancient rights and liberties precisely were. It is believed, however, that every householder was entitled to be summoned to a council before any taxation could be imposed on him. Things remained almost unchanged until 1864, when Heligoland, like larger colonies, behaved to have a Constitution. By an Order in Council of that year a Legislative Council was created. It consisted of twelve persons summoned by Royal Warrant; and when questions of taxation were involved, twelve burghers were to be added to the Council by election. By this time, probably, some zealot desires to introduce representative government into the island, and we are quite prepared to hear that the recent plague of rabbits is ascribed to the want of Parliamentary institutions. It appears that in 1866 the Governor reported that the Constitution was working admirably, and two years afterwards it was abolished. If it be true that, while the inhabitants had not paid the taxes imposed on them, the public debt which had amounted to 750*l.* was reduced to 600*l.*, we can only say that charity should begin at home, and we should like to have such a beautiful Constitution among ourselves. We decline to adopt the suggestion which may possibly be offered that the debt was reduced out of the profits of the gambling-table. The Duke of Buckingham, when he was Colonial Secretary, is said to have gone in uniform in a man-of-war to Heligoland, and taken away its bauble of a Constitution. The German newspapers, which naturally take a lively interest in the descendants of the Sicambri, have lately called attention to this alleged grievance, and they complain that, whereas we are always preaching liberty to other Governments, we have summarily abolished the Constitution of one of our own dependencies. Lord Carnarvon, in answer to Lord Rosebery, remarked that the Heligolandians are a sensitive race, as indeed are most of the races with which he is brought into official contact, and he feared that the production of the capitulation of 1807 would wound the susceptibilities of the dependency. Considering that this capitulation is, as he says, an historic document, and that its contents must be perfectly well known to those who were affected by it, Lord Carnarvon's anxiety is perhaps excessive. It may be remembered that Napoleon had by the Peace of Tilsit converted Russia from a dangerous enemy into a subservient friend. Our Government apprehended that he and the Emperor Alexander would employ the Danish fleet against us, and so we determined to seize it ourselves. Whatever may be thought of the justice of this resolution, there can be no question of the vigour with which it was executed. A fleet and army was immediately despatched; and, whereas the battle of Friedland was fought on the 14th June and the Peace of Tilsit concluded on 9th July, the surrender of the Danish fleet was exacted on the 7th September. As a branch of these operations, a small squadron was sent to Heligoland, and while our admiral was preparing to storm the place with his marines

and seamen, a flag of truce arrived, and next day was signed the capitulation which Lord Rosebery now wishes to have produced. Thus the island, which was much wanted as a refuge for our cruisers in these dangerous waters, became a possession of the British Crown, and our traders, we may be sure, promptly utilized its commercial capabilities. The hope which we had founded on the stubborn courage of the Russian armies was dissipated as soon as Napoleon's military genius had full scope. But not even by his splendid victory at Friedland, nor by the confederacy which followed it, could he abate the pertinacity of our resistance. Whatever came of our allies we were never disappointed in ourselves, and it may be doubted whether the vigilance of our cruisers or the activity of our smugglers caused greater irritation to our enemy. It would have been better if we had not imitated the petty spite he showed. When we employed our naval power in cutting off supplies of drugs from Napoleon's confederates, Sydney Smith ridiculed our great scheme for closing, as he said, the ports and the bowels of Northern Europe.

It was against an earlier confederacy of the same kind that Nelson battled in 1801. Twice within seven years Copenhagen heard the thunder of our guns, and the capitulation of Heligoland commemorates our second attack on the nation with which we have now so close a tie. Yet Nelson wrote that the Danes were the brothers, and should never be the enemies, of the English. They might, however, be pardoned in those days for thinking that we had a way of dissembling our love. If, as is likely, the Heligolandians have now German sympathies, they may not feel any particular irritation at looking back at our attacks on Denmark, and at any rate they know their own history. Lord Carnarvon tells us that the capitulation did not confirm ancient rights and liberties. The island is now, he says, in a state of contentment and satisfaction, and he implies that it does not regret the Constitution of 1864. If its people are happier than they were when they could pay off debt without collecting taxes, the Colonial Office has something to be proud of. They may be prosperous; but if they are contented they deserve to be described, in the indignant language of agitation, as wretches whom no sense of wrongs can rouse to vengeance. Their community is probably about as big as one of those "populous places" which lately exercised the sagacity of magistrates at Quarter Sessions. The Colonial Secretary, correcting Lord Rosebery, stated that we supplied Heligoland with a Constitution soon after it came into our possession. It had a Legislative Council consisting of six nominated members, with whom six others were to be associated under certain circumstances. The connexion between the island and Denmark in those days was much closer than it afterwards became, and we regret to learn that, as a result of or contemporaneously with this Danish connexion, it was impossible to recover debts or to enforce legal processes in the island, gambling tables were set up, and, as Lord Carnarvon delicately puts it, "great difficulties arose" as to wrecking and salvage cases. The descendants of the Sicambri seem to have thought that of all slaves the most base is he that pays, and it may be plausibly conjectured that the Saxon deity who was worshipped on the island was identical with Mercury. The Constitution of 1864 is described as "a change in the direction of local self-government," and it may be admitted that the islanders of that day did need an increase of self-government, but in a moral, not political, sense. An extension of the franchise was granted, and there are enthusiasts capable of believing that universal suffrage would cure a propensity to wrecking and gambling, and promote a law-abiding and debt-paying frame of mind. However, that experiment failed, as experiments have failed in larger colonies, and then the Duke of Buckingham went to the island, as above described, and abolished its Constitution with the happiest possible results. Another speaker, being free from official regard for susceptible Sicambri, remarked that at that time it was impossible to serve a writ, and that Heligoland wanted not so much a Constitution as a constable. In fact, it was a sort of Whitefriars with sea air; and even Lord Carnarvon seems to admit that an English officer called Receiver of Wrecks was quite as important in the new system as the Lieutenant-Governor or his Council. So far as could be possible under the authority of the British Crown, this island seems to have approximated to the condition ascribed by a witness in the case of the *Lennie* mutineers to (we think) Isle de Rhé. "I told them it was a Republic, and there were no police, and they had better go ashore." Self-government, in the sense of keeping your hands from picking and stealing, was obviously the want of the islanders, and they have now acquired it. Lord Carnarvon does not directly question the assertion that this island was a Paradise under the lamented Constitution of 1864; but he rather seems to suggest that it was something else, and he positively states that the public debt has been further reduced since the advent of the Wreck Receiver. In fact, there has been rather less liberty and rather more law. The debt of Heligoland does not, so far as we know, figure prominently in the transactions of the Stock Exchange, and the possessor of a few hundred pounds might probably constitute himself sole creditor of this dependency of the British Crown. Lord Carnarvon omits to notice the alarming prevalence of rabbits, and we fear that a Colonial Secretary in uniform on board a man-of-war would produce small impression on them. But we could at all events turn out a few foxes on the island.

#### THE COASTGUARDSMAN, PAST AND PRESENT.

AMONG the most agreeable objects that enliven the shores of our island are the groups of cottages occupied by the coast-guard. Picturesque one can scarcely call them, for the architecture is simple to baldness, and suggestive of Government contracts kept down by close competition; and yet they have generally the picturesqueness of comfortable contrast with surroundings that are often bleak and inhospitable. Dating from the days when our coasts were regularly picketed and a blockade was methodically established against the enterprise of the free-traders, we come upon them in every variety of situation. Now they are arranged bastion-wise on a commanding eminence in the suburb of some seaport or watering-place, in a snug, compact little square with a tall flag-staff in the centre. Again we stumble on them unexpectedly, sheltered in the recess of some "gap" or "chine," where a little stream comes trickling down to the sands, through the deep cleft that time seems to have worn in the chalk cliffs. Most frequently they are perched on the crest of the line of sand hills, with a broad look-out in all directions over "promontory, cape, and bay." And often they form a conspicuous landmark on some flat stretch of grass-grown sand, where the slow shelving shore is intersected by a labyrinth of changing channels, and where mud banks submerged by the rising tides are a perfect paradise for the clamorous sea-fowl. But, whatever the situation, the general effect is almost invariably the same. They are substantial and weather-tight; suggestive of cheery shelter in bright interiors when the wind is howling through the shrouds of the flagstaff, driving the sand and gravel in flying scud along the beach, and churning and grinding the pebbles in the surf with dull, monotonous roar. There are low flat roofs with projecting eaves, and small, strongly secured casements, and the gleam of their spotless whitewash catches any sunlight that may be going. In the neatly palisaded little gardens that stretch before the doors a hard and not unsuccessful struggle is always going on with the unfriendly elements, while the shell-strewn walks are invariably kept in the most perfect order. As you approach them of a warm summer afternoon you are conscious of the briny breeze being just tainted with a faint amphibious smell of tar. It may not be so balmy or romantic as the resinous odours that breathe from the pine-woods of Bayonne or Arcachon, under the fiercer rays of the sun of Gascony; but it is decidedly wholesome, and rather savoury than otherwise. The promiscuous use of pitch and tar gratifies the nautical affections of the inmates. Everything is paid, caulked, and seamed, from the keels of the white-painted boats that are hauled up bottom upwards to the felt-covered shingles over the outhouses, and the frames of the cottage windows, and the palings of the enclosure. Everything, even to the concealed refuse heaps, is trim and shipshape, showing the presence of an easy discipline and the predominance of habits of tidiness and order.

As for the occupants of these oases in the wilderness, the lines would seem to have fallen to them in very pleasant places. The sturdy women are blooming in the redundancy of vigorous health, and the chubby children who are tumbling about on the sand are in as sleek case as turtles or porpoises. Even were less attention paid to sanitary details, it would be difficult for the most perverse ingenuity to make these breezy places unwholesome. Ordinary ailments can scarcely lay hold of constitutions enjoying a perpetual air-bath, where brine, oxygen, and iodine are the chief ingredients; and the most remote association with disorders of the nerves would be on the face of it absurdly impossible. The husbands and fathers of the little households are just what one might expect in men who lead the most salubrious lives in the world and have as few cares as may be. Unless you are of unusually robust make yourself, you are disposed to envy them their stalwart frames, their broad shoulders, their deep chests, and the solid under-limbs on which they roll themselves along. Their easy uniform of dark woollen jersey, with broad collars flung back to let the breezes play round the muscular throat, looks the very picture of serviceable comfort. You can tell at a glance that life sits lightly on them, nor are their duties by any means onerous. They have to keep a bright look-out in the day-time for nothing in particular, which comes very naturally to them; for they have got into the habit of gazing into vacancy. Now and then they are taken out for some gentle exercise in the long boat of the station, and take a leisurely pull along the coast which has a good deal of the character of a pleasure trip. They have some night patrolling to do, which is very much a matter of form, now that smuggling has become a thing almost unheard of. The night walk may not be always agreeable, when they have to face wind and rain in broken weather, or swallow down mouthfuls of the damp sea fog that is swathing everything in a watery mantle. Those heaps of white stones which mark out their beats along the southern chalk cliffs are suggestive of promenades that must often be dreary, and occasionally have a dash of danger as well; for a blunder in their bearings might precipitate them down a depth of a few hundred feet among the shingle and seaweed on the beach below. But on such weather-beaten headlands they have shelter-houses erected where they may seek temporary refuge in the wildest nights, and on the whole these solitary nocturnal walks must be a rather agreeable variety in their existence. No human lot is perfect, however, and the drawbacks to theirs are its routine and monotony. They may, indeed, look forward nowadays to an annual cruise in one of Her Majesty's ships, when they enjoy complete change of scene and revive their old nautical associations. And occasionally, when vessels are in distress on the



coast, they have the excitement of putting out to the assistance of the crew, or working the patent rocket apparatus that is to establish means of communication. But, as a rule, they are driven to betake themselves to desultory lounging, in which, with incessant practice, they become highly accomplished. Occasionally this habit, conspiring with circumstances, tends somewhat to demoralize them. The experienced visitor to famous points of view in the vicinity of popular watering-places learns to sheer away as he sees the preventive man standing off and on with an elaborate air of attention to everything except the stranger advancing in his direction. For when the unwary wanderer comes within easy hailing distance, the look-out is apt to bear down suddenly and grapple him. Then the customary observations as to the weather are followed by the friendly tender of the telescope, and you know that before you may pursue your way you must pay your shilling if you care not to be considered shabby. But the coastguard watch in less frequented places is usually a well-informed local guide, of frank but by no means obtrusive manners, with a fair share of intelligence and possibly a store of professional traditions. He will not only explain the geography of the neighbourhood, and enlighten you as to aquatic matters generally, but he will confide to you as you grow friendly how time hangs heavy with him, and will indulge in half-grumbling reminiscences of those good old times when the duties of the preventive guard were no sinecure.

And indeed there were few lives more active, exciting, and unpopular than theirs when import duties were excessive, and lucky smugglers made rapid fortunes. The sympathies of the whole adjacent country were against them. Half the country people were employed from time to time in running illicit cargoes, and made a very profitable thing of it. Those were the days of hard drinking, and farmers almost openly encouraged a trade that dropped kegs of cheap Hollands and runlets of pure French brandy at their very doors. As for the women, of course—to say nothing of their romantic sympathies with daring law-breakers—they were all in favour of the men who filled and sweetened the cheering tea-cup that would otherwise have been altogether beyond their means. Even gentlemen holding His Majesty's commission of the peace were said to connive at the "fair trade" for a consideration, and to express no surprise at the production of mysterious casks that had been concealed in out-of-the-way corners of their premises. There were certain depôts in dry caverns, in remote farmsteads or sequestered barns, the secret of which was religiously preserved, although it was the common property of highly questionable characters. There were codes of signals which could be clearly read by all but the preventive men, and which gave notice of danger or of a favourable opportunity as the case might be. The officer in charge of the station had his faculties preternaturally sharpened, and could scent something wrong in the most natural incidents. The wreaths of smoke rising from a heap of burning weeds might convey a warning to some expected vessel. A fishing-boat putting out to sea, engaged apparently in its lawful business, might really be bound on a similar errand. Then it was the business of the day watch to scan carefully each craft that appeared off the coast, and his natural vigilance was stimulated by the prize-money that might fall to his share. Then the nocturnal promenade was no mere formality. The thicker the night, the more likely that something might be going on under cover of the fog; and the ear of the look-out was always bent to distinguish, amidst the murmur of the waves, the sound of suppressed voices or the plash of muffled oars. Nor was the walk by any means free from personal danger, and indeed it was seldom taken in solitude. For, even apart from the inveterate animosity existing between the smugglers and the preventive men, those were days when deeds of violence were common, and the life of a man was of little account compared to the safety of a cargo that might be worth hundreds or thousands of pounds. If he chanced to fall over the cliff by accident, everything might be settled satisfactorily before he was replaced. For, when a smuggling lugger stood in for the coast, there were plenty of ready hands to help to discharge her cargo, and unless the men of the nearest preventive station got assistance from elsewhere, there was little left to them but to look on helplessly. Boats from the nearest fishing hamlets swarmed in about the smuggler. Strings of horses, in charge of people armed to the teeth, made their way to the coast from the inland farms. The contraband goods were made up in kegs and bags of convenient size for easy landing; they were transferred from the ship to the boat, from the boat to the beach, from the beach to the pack-saddle, with incredible celerity; and, when the mounted caravans set themselves in motion, those who had assisted at the landing hastened to vanish as they had come. On these occasions the smugglers scored a trick in the game, and the coastguard had nothing for it but to wait their turn of revenge with redoubled vigilance. More frequently, however, they succeeded in spoiling sport, for it paid the smuggler amply to run one cargo in three. The Government people would keep such a sharp look-out that, oftener than not, the friends of the free-traders could only help them by signalling danger, and the richly freighted lugger had to put up her helm in despair, perhaps with one of the revenue cutters in hot pursuit. Or, what was better still, the enemy was surprised in the very act of unlading, and a valuable capture was effected. Of course a successful exploit of this kind was by no means all pleasure and profit. The smugglers, with their friends disguised by blackened faces, were sure to show fight if they had any chance. As they were busy in the bay and the

unlading was going briskly forward, their sentinels would give the signal of alarm, and the long galleys of the coastguard would be seen pulling fast inshore, and stealing like wolves on their prey from round the nearest headland. The attacking force would make free play with its muskets and carbines if it came within reach, and the attacked had to consider that their enemies on the water had probably allies on the land in the shape of Excise officers backed up by soldiers. So the next act in the drama was a *sauve qui peut*, conducted with more or less order, and covered with a lavish use of firearms and cutlasses. Very possibly the victors had to count the dead and pick up wounded; and thus the romance and excitement of those days were spiced with a very sensible element of danger. But if the modern coastguardsman may be tempted to regret those vanished times with their fun and their prizes, it is matter of congratulation for the country that he has to reserve his energies nowadays against the chance of their being required by the Admiralty for purposes of national defence.

#### THE PERILS OF CIVILIZATION.

IT is said that, by the progress of medicine and the better appreciation of sanitary laws, the average duration of life is gradually being extended; but, on the other hand, it is impossible to shut our eyes to the fact that the advance of civilization also tends to the introduction of many new perils. The use, for instance, of dynamite for homicidal purposes is probably only in its infancy. Some crude experiments have been made, but in the course of years the nature of the apparatus required will, no doubt, be better understood, and widely extended. Railway accidents are another illustration of the deadly effects of improved mechanics; and in another sphere even such a small invention as roller-skating has apparently added largely to the number of broken bones and injured spines which were formerly confined to the comparatively small class who seek amusement in the hunting-field. It may be thought, however, that people who go out of their way to meddle with dangerous chemicals, or to seek sport in dangerous exercises, have only themselves to blame if they come to grief. But walking about in the streets is not altogether a matter of taste; for most people it is a necessity, and the perils which are thus encountered are not courted, but are of the kind which cannot be avoided. The misanthropical van-driver and the bloodthirsty butcher-boy are familiar dangers of the streets; but there are also other perils of a serious kind to which people are constantly exposed, but of which they have no suspicion till some shocking accident brings them under notice. An instance of this kind occurred the other day, when a man had his throat cut by some telegraph wires which had been blown down. The wires had been stretched across a street, and, having been blown down by the gale, formed a loop over a gateway through which the deceased had to drive an omnibus. His neck was caught in this noose, and the tissues of the throat severed, so that he died instantaneously. Such a danger as that of an iron instrument coming down in this way, as from the skies, and cutting the throat of a person in the street, is one against which it is impossible for the threatened victim to guard; and it is obvious that all who happen to pass that way at the critical moment are equally jeopardized. Any one who in going through London chooses to lift his eyes can see for himself the risks to which he is thus exposed. Sir John Hawkshaw, the eminent engineer, has pointed out with emphatic conciseness what is likely to happen from the present method of carrying telegraph wires across the streets. Galvanized wire, he says, in a smoky atmosphere, does not last more than a dozen years, and the first indication of decay will probably be the falling of the wires upon the passers-by; and the weight of the wires, and the height from which they will fall, will be generally sufficient to kill and maim those upon whom they fall. Sir John added that he did not happen to know who might be made responsible for such accidents; but Lord John Manners has since admitted the responsibility of the Post Office for postal wires, and that, as far as possible, they ought to be carried underground. Some five hundred and fifty-four miles of wire have, it is said, been laid in this way during the last two years. In the meantime, however, Sir J. Hawkshaw's suggestion that, if wires are to cross the streets, they should do so at right angles in the shortest way, instead of, as at present, being extended obliquely to a distant point on the other side, commends itself to common sense, for the existing system is, as he justly observes, ingeniously contrived to do the greatest amount of mischief to the greatest number. It may perhaps be said that there has been only one isolated and exceptional case of danger to human life from this cause; but it must be remembered that this plan of stretching wires across the streets is of comparatively recent date, and that the time is now arriving when the wires are becoming weak and brittle. No doubt there is some system of inspection; but the question is whether this inspection is sufficiently close and careful. The wires which killed the omnibus-driver the other day had, it seems, been up for six years, and had not long since been passed as sound for a further term. Nothing is said in the report of any evidence having been given as to their actual condition.

Probably few people would have suspected that, if the telegraph wires happened for any reason to come down, the accident would produce such fatal effects; and it may be admitted that in the present instance there was probably

something exceptional in the way in which the loop was formed in which the unfortunate man's head was caught. Even, however, if the falling wires did not kill, they would be likely to inflict severe wounds; and the commotion which such an incident would produce amidst the traffic of a crowded thoroughfare, especially if it happened in the day-time, would in itself constitute a serious danger. Moreover, the gravity of the question is increased by the large extension of this system of erecting telegraph-wires along the roofs which has taken place in recent years, and is continually going on. Not only the Post Office, but various Companies and private persons, make use of wires in this way, and, if the practice continues, it may soon be expected that over a great part of London there will be a closely-woven meshwork of wires stretching across the chief thoroughfares. It may be doubted, therefore, whether any modification of the present system, such as laying down a rule that wires must be carried across the road only at right angles, will be sufficient to meet the difficulty; and whether these dangerous constructions on the tops of houses will not have to be absolutely prohibited. It is stated that during the recent gales a great many poles were thrown down, and the wires twisted and blown about in all sorts of fantastic ways. Here we have a source of danger both to roofs and chimneys as well as to people in the streets below. It is easy to conceive the wires getting entangled with a stack of chimneys, and pulling them down with a sudden haul, and in such a case there would be a great risk of the wreck of the chimneys going through the roof into the house beneath, or into the street. It appears that a large part of the telegraphic intercourse of London is already carried on by underground wires; and this system has many recommendations. The wires are not exposed to the weather as those are which are elevated on the tops of houses; and they can be more readily got at and mended when out of repair. Along the lines of railway and in country districts the poles and wires are of course less inconvenient and dangerous; but even there they are apt to be the cause of mischief by being blown down upon the rails, where they may form a serious obstruction of traffic, as indeed happened on Sunday last when the Empress of Austria was returning from Windsor to London. In the large towns, however, there can be no doubt that over-house telegraphs are very much out of place, and those who erect them must not be surprised to find a strong protest raised against their continuance.

There is an objection to any reform in this way which is pretty sure to be raised, and which involves an important principle in regard to the rights of the public. It will no doubt be said that to substitute underground communications for those which are now carried aloft would throw a very heavy outlay on those on whom the obligation devolved; and it may be assumed that, to some extent, this would be the case, though there would be a saving in the rent paid for passing over houses, and probably in the cost of maintenance and repairs. Admitting, however, that it would be costly and troublesome, we have to ask whether in such a case the public has not the first and paramount right to consideration. This is the usual cry of the Railway Companies when any urgent reform in their system is pressed upon them. "What!" they exclaim, "you expect us to have carriages of uniform construction, a strict correspondence between the level of carriage doorways and of landing-places, improved signals, efficient brakes, and so on; but just think of the expense, and the effect on our dividends!" When it is proposed that the railways should double their lines because they have more than doubled their traffic, the same plea is heard again—"Oh! but this would be so expensive for the Companies." The answer is that Companies have no right to subordinate the safety of the public to their own private pecuniary interests. It is impossible to admit that anybody has a right to endanger the lives of the community in order to make a large profit. What would be said if a man got leave to build a bridge for the use of the public, and it was so rotten and rickety that people were always tumbling through and being drowned? Would it be an excuse to say that the proprietor could not make a handsome income for himself if he kept the bridge in such a condition as would be perfectly safe? A Railway Company which cannot do its work without slaughtering so many people every year just because it does not choose to pay for an efficient staff, a highway roomy enough for its traffic, and plant of the best kind, has no right to exist at all, and the same principle applies to all other public enterprises. It is not a question of how many people may be allowed to be killed in a year in order to put money into other people's pockets; the question begins at an earlier point, and is simply whether anybody is to be killed at all if it can be avoided. After the opinion expressed with regard to telegraph wires by so high and practical an authority as Sir John Hawkshaw, it can hardly be contended that the public is bound to submit to this artificial and unnecessary peril for the convenience of the people, whoever they may be, who use this means of communication. The proper place for the telegraph wires in a densely populated town is underground, and if that is expensive, it is only one of the natural conditions of the business. The Tramway Companies already monopolize a considerable share of the public thoroughfares, and if we are to have large lumbering waggons blocking up the roadway, and a maze of telegraph wires woven overhead, and threatening at any moment to fall down and maim or kill the people in the streets, the ordinary perils of London life will be seriously augmented. And this brings us to another question which also demands attention—that is, the necessity of having the under part of at least the chief thoroughfares so

arranged that it may be possible to lay or repair telegraph wires, gas-pipes, water-pipes, and so on, without having the whole traffic obstructed for an indefinite period of every year. The complete realization of this dream is probably remote, but some attempt ought to be made to carry it out; and, at any rate, the public ought not to be kept uneasy by telegraph poles and wires in windy situations.

#### DEGREES IN MURDER.

A BILL has been brought into the House of Commons reciting that the various offences which are legally characterized as murder differ greatly from each other "in heinousness and atrocity," and it is not just that the same punishment should be alike applicable to all. We of course entirely agree that the law is in this respect imperfect, and we should like to see—what we do not see—a Bill that would amend it. The apportionment of punishment must always be to some extent discretionary, and it is impossible to formulate in rules all the considerations which may properly influence a criminal judge. The sentiment of early ages is expressed by Shakespeare in reference to Iago, and there are still, perhaps, persons capable of regretting that such a monster of wickedness as the contriver of the Bremerhaven explosion could at most be simply hanged. But if you can only hang for the worst homicide, it seems to follow that you ought not to hang in cases distinctly short of extreme guilt; and, indeed, our law attempts to meet, although not very satisfactorily, what may be taken to be a prevailing sentiment. The distinction between murder and manslaughter has been called "an indulgence shown to the frailties of human nature"; and it has been said that, if two happen to fall out upon a sudden, and presently agree to fight, and each of them fetch a weapon and go into the field, and there one kill the other, he is guilty of manslaughter only, "because he did it in the heat of blood."

In a case which occurred rather more than a century ago a jury found that Taylor, "being a sergeant in the first regiment of our Lord the King of foot," was in a taphouse or alehouse in Lambeth, and was there drinking with another soldier and a gardener, being all three Scotchmen, and Edwards and Pepper were there likewise drinking in another box in the same room, and Edwards, without any provocation given by Taylor or his company, said of them, "They are Lord Bute's countrymen." The conversation proceeded thus:—"Do you know any harm of them?" "No, nor any good." "Yes, in the last war they did great service to their country by fighting the savages in America." "It was fit one savage should fight against another." When Edwards said this, Taylor struck him with a small rattan cane, and the gardener struck Edwards with his fist. Edwards, who was a servant of the house, then fetched other servants, and Taylor was bidden to pay for his liquor and be gone. Smith, who was neither master nor servant, hereupon intervened, called Taylor "rascal," and as Taylor was going away laid hold of him by the collar, and said he should not go without paying, and threw him down against a settle. Taylor then paid, whereupon Smith again laid hold of him by the collar, and shoved him out of the room into the passage, whereupon Taylor said "that he did not mind killing an Englishman more than eating a mess of crowdy." Smith and Edwards then violently pushed Taylor out of the alehouse; whereupon Taylor instantly turned round, drew his sword, stabbed Smith, and gave him the wound of which he died. The Court declared that this finding of the jury could only amount to manslaughter; for "words are not sufficient provocation, but blows are provocation sufficient to lessen the crime into manslaughter." The Court said further that the case was stronger (in favour of Taylor) than many of the cases where it had been determined to be only manslaughter.

We are told that in early times the killing of any man through malice prepense was by degrees called murder and punished with death. But by the common law "clergy" was promiscuously allowed as well in cases of murder as of manslaughter before certain statutes of King Henry VIII., by which "clergy" was taken away from murder *ex malitia præcogitata*. This practice of allowing "clergy" prevailed in the last century, and accordingly we find that Taylor, sergeant in the First Regiment of Foot, fell on his knees at the bar and prayed the benefit of his clergy, and was burned in the hand and discharged. By the practice which then prevailed of finding a special verdict, the jury submitted the facts to the Court, and left the Court to say whether malice prepense was proved, or, in other words, whether the killing was murder or only manslaughter. Now the judge explains to the jury, as well as he can, the distinction between these two terms, and leaves the jury to decide which they will apply to the case before them. The judge carries in his mind more or less of the charges of his predecessors in similar cases, and expresses what he remembers with more or less accuracy and lucidity. As to some cases it will be easy to say on which side of the line they fall; as to others it will be very difficult. But in many cases a narrative has to be constructed on the imperfect recollection of witnesses of a number of circumstances which preceded and attended the killing, and the jury have to decide on the whole between the two alternatives presented to them. This practice may, or may not, be capable of improvement; but we do not think it will be improved by a Bill which proposes to enact that murder in the first degree is unlawful killing, "with deliberate intent to kill, and with malice afore-



thought." Suppose that, Taylor being drunk and disorderly, the master of the ale-house and his servants put him out with unnecessary violence, and he instantly turned round and mortally stabbed one of them. Again, suppose that they used more or less of unnecessary violence, and he did the same thing. The suddenness of the impulse is evidently not the criterion, because it would be exactly the same in the three cases of no unnecessary violence, of little, or of much, and so we are not much helped by looking for "deliberate intent." The term "malice aforethought" has been always used, and in the case of the Scotch soldier the Court looked to the degree of provocation, and finding it considerable, decided that he was only guilty of "feloniously killing" Smith, or, in other words, that "malice prepense" was wanting. It may be doubted whether anything is gained by this or any other adjective. There have been, or at least the "mad doctors" tell us that there may be, cases of killing by sudden momentary impulse which they call uncontrollable. If such a case did occur, the killer would be, or at least ought to be, hanged, and he could not be hanged without being found guilty of killing of "malice aforethought." Yet he may have taken no more thought than a man does who takes a "snap shot" at a rabbit.

Cases of homicide under the influence of drink are unfortunately frequent, and the law deals with them on the whole satisfactorily, although judges are not always happy in explaining the grounds on which they proceed. It is commonly said that drunkenness is no excuse for crime, but it would be easy to show that this principle is not practised quite so uniformly as it is preached. In the too common case of a man of brutal savage nature who, under excitement of liquor, beats, kicks, jumps upon, and perhaps kills, a woman, it may be fairly said that, if the man's nature were not brutal and savage, drink would not excite it to this violence. But suppose a man in a drunken fury sets fire to a neighbour's house, and the indictment for arson charges him in the usual form that he did this "with intent to injure" his neighbour, and there is no evidence of the intent beyond the act. It would be easy to produce cases in which this has not been held sufficient; and yet, as a general principle, a man must be supposed to intend the natural consequence of his act. A man went into another man's house, and "was very abusive," and a constable was desired to turn him out. While the constable was taking him off the premises, he stabbed the constable with a fork. He was "something the worse for liquor." Being tried for stabbing with intent to murder, Baron Alderson said, or is reported to have said, after observing that intoxication did not alter the nature of the offence, that, "with regard to the intention, drunkenness may perhaps be adverted to according to the nature of the instrument used. If a man uses a stick, you would not infer a malicious intent so strongly against him, if drunk, when he made an intemperate use of it, as you would if he had used a different kind of weapon." It is hard on a judge that, after the lapse of forty years, he should be made answerable for all that appears of his dicta in the reports. But if Baron Alderson had heard any one else say this, he would probably have asked why sober men as well as drunkards should not have the benefit of the distinction between a stick and a fork. He could not have meant to say that in lighter cases drink may be an excuse or palliation, but when it comes to killing or wounding, the law must show unmitigated severity; and yet that is nearly what he is made to say. In another case, where a dictum of a learned judge was cited to the effect that in a charge of murder, on the question whether the act was premeditated, intoxication might be taken into account, the Court said, "there would be no safety for human life if that were law"; and it certainly is not law. We are not a logical, but a practical, people; and although it might beargued with much force that murder by contrived poisoning and murder in drunken fury imply different degrees of wickedness, we should answer that we must hang for the latter, and we can only hang for the former. But, if this be so, the comparative "heinousness and atrocity" of murders seems scarcely to furnish ground for legislative action.

A case tried this week at Maidstone may serve as a test of the value of the Bill. It appeared that on the evening of Saturday, 8th January, the prisoner and a woman with whom he cohabited were on their way to a barn outside Margate, where they sometimes passed the night. They visited three drinking-houses, and they had, at one house, according to the evidence, "five half-quarters" of gin, which Lord Coleridge, from a mistake easily made in reading the figures of his own notes, stated to the jury as "five and a half quarters." The mistake was corrected, and thus the quantity of gin alleged to have been consumed was reduced by more than half. It is, however, always difficult to attain exactness on these points, and it would be dangerous to pay much heed to arguments from the prisoner's condition some time after the woman's death to show what his condition was before her death. When we are told that a prisoner "had been drinking, but was not drunk," we can form our own judgment as to his condition. He seems to have been possessed with a sort of madness for which drink was the only apparent cause. If he beat and kicked the woman in a drunken fury, he only followed the example of other men to whom the law has been more merciful than it is likely to be to him. But why did he tear off and carry away her clothes? Supposing him to be capable of thought, he would perceive that suspicion would point to him as the person last seen with her, and no marks upon her clothes could possibly be more damning to him than his making away with her clothes to prevent examination of them. But, assuming that the prisoner was at 9

or 10 o'clock that night when the woman came by her death considerably under the influence of drink, the killing, if he killed her, as the jury believed he did, would still be murder. If the victim had been a man we might suppose a quarrel and a struggle, and here the quantity and effect of the drink taken become material. But it is difficult to frame any hypothesis on which there could be provocation by a woman sufficient to negative the legal presumption of malice—in other words, to reduce the crime from murder to manslaughter—and besides, the man did not suggest anything of the kind. Lord Coleridge, in answer to the argument that the prisoner was too drunk to have the deliberate intent to kill, said that he must hold that this was not material, assuming that the prisoner committed these acts of violence; and here he spoke correctly the language of the law. It may be added that, if ever there could be a time when this class of murder might be treated leniently, the present does not seem to be that time, but quite otherwise. The Bill to which we have referred comes to this; that murder, as it has actually been defined, shall be murder in the first degree, and murder which is not murder in the first degree shall be murder in the second degree. The old distinction between murder and manslaughter is quite as rational as this gradation of murders, and has the advantage of being familiar. Unless something more effectual can be done to amend the law of homicide, it had better be let alone. Until human thought and language shall attain perfection, which now seems distant, it will be necessary to leave a large discretion to judges or Ministers of State.

## REVIEWS.

WILLIAM OF CANTERBURY.\*

WITH a yearning second only to the yearning with which we have longed for Dr. Dasent's long-promised sagas, have we been longing for an intelligible edition of the vast mass of materials which have gathered round the quarrel between Henry the Second and Thomas of Canterbury. Those only who have tried to master the subject in the edition of Dr. Giles know how great is the lack. Any editor might set about his work with one great advantage; he must do it comparatively well; human imagination cannot go so far as to conceive an edition worse done than those of Dr. Giles. We are therefore inclined to welcome anything of the kind from Mr. Robertson or from anybody else. We might possibly think that so great a subject should have been entrusted to the greatest scholar, and that no hand save that which drew Henry should be allowed to touch Thomas. But, without descending to the depth of Dr. Giles, the work might easily have fallen into much worse hands than those of Mr. Robertson. Mr. Robertson is described in his title-page as Canon of Canterbury, so that he may be supposed to have some local knowledge of and interest in his subject. And some years back he put forth a work on the subject itself, whose alliterative title caused some mirth among scholars, but which was plainly the result of solid work. "Becket, a Biography," as the lettering of Mr. Robertson's book ran, showed in a curious way how well a man may understand the details of a subject without in the least understanding the subject itself. Mr. Robertson showed himself equally removed from the class of blunderers and from the class of historians. He was minutely accurate in detail; only Henry and Thomas were both of them too great for him to take in. Some may think that for an editor accuracy in detail is enough, and that it does not much matter whether he understands the general subject or not. Some years back we might have been inclined to think so too; but our standard of editorship has been raised by the great volumes in this same series. Still we believe that Mr. Robertson may do very fairly, if he will only keep himself from joking, even at Dr. Giles. We would give him one other warning. He says in the beginning of his Introduction that

In a work produced with the aid of public money it would be improper to obtrude opinions which might offend the convictions either of those who regard him [Becket] with a religious veneration or of those who estimate him very differently.

Mr. Robertson does not seem to understand that there are those with whom everything is not a matter of theological controversy. There are those who can admire two great men, each honestly engaged in a great struggle, without personally committing themselves to the position of either.

The volume now before us, the first of Mr. Robertson's edition, gives us a large proportion of strictly original matter. It contains first the full text of the Life of Thomas by William of Canterbury, which has hitherto been published in a fragmentary form only; and it contains also a collection by the same writer of the miracles of the Saint, which, as far as we know, has not been printed at all before. The Life is one of those which went to form the *Quadri-logus of Lupus* (Christian Wolf) and the fragments which are used there were printed by Dr. Giles in his second volume. Here we have the work complete, and it is well worth having. In Roger of Pontigny we have the Life of Thomas written by a foreigner who knew him in exile. In Edward Grim we have it written by a man who was English in every sense. In William

\* *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury.* Edited by James Craigie Robertson, M.A. Vol. 1. London: Longmans & Co. 1875.

FitzStephen and Herbert of Bosham we have the witness of men who were English "natione," whether they were or were not English "genere." In William of Canterbury we have the Life written by a foreigner dwelling in England. Mr. Robertson is clearly right in setting down William as a stranger, neither an Englishman in the strictest sense nor a man of Norman descent born in England. When he comes across English words and names, he writes like a man who had just picked up a little English and thought it rather hard. He complains of the barbarous names which he has to put in his story, and he alone among the biographers of Thomas gives us a complete English sentence. Roger of Pontigny doubtless never heard Thomas and his companions speak anything but French or Latin. The biographers who wrote in England were so used to hear English, French, and Latin, all spoken according to circumstances, that it never came into their heads to say which tongue a man spoke at any particular time. To William, as a stranger, an English sentence was a curiosity, and he copied it down as such. By so doing he gives us a very valuable piece of testimony in the history of language. When Hugh of Morville's mother—Mr. Robertson has shown that it should be mother and not wife—brings her false charge against Lithulf (Ligulf?), she speaks English:—

*Quod cum faceret, patria voce exclamavit ad præsentem virum, "Huge de Moreville, ware, ware, ware, Lithulf heth his sverð adrage." Quod Latine sonat, "Hugo de Morvilla, cave, cave, cave, Lithulfus, eduxit suum gladium."*

Every MS. writes the words differently; but there is the fact; the mother of Hugh of Morville, a man whose Norman descent cannot be doubted, speaks English to her son. She may herself have been of English descent; as to that we have no evidence. But it is clear that her son understood English, and in any case the story is a witness to the thorough fusion of Normans and English in the time of Henry the Second. Either Hugh of Morville's father had married a woman who was English in the strictest sense, or else by his time a woman of Norman descent spoke English more naturally than French. The witness is about equally valuable either way, and we no doubt owe it to the fact that the man who recorded it was not an Englishman in any sense. While on this subject we may also notice that William speaks of Edward Grim in a marked way as "*Anglicus natu, Edwardus nomine.*" In another place he calls the Bishop of Norwich "*Episcopus Helmannensis.*" This must, of course, as Mr. Robertson says, mean Bishop of Elmham; but the archaism is odd, and it looks like the way in which a stranger might speak who had been getting up the antiquities of the land in which he had settled. On the other hand, we may mention that either Mr. Robertson or the writer of his manuscript has wiped out a small piece of witness to the fusion. On page 108 we find "*Willelmus filius Aldeline,*" as if it were the name of his mother; but it should without doubt be "*Willelmus filius Aldelmi,*" a man whose name is found over and over again in the history of Henry. Of the descent of William the son of Ealdhelm there can be no doubt, and his high position under the Angovian King is a point of importance. It may be worth noting that William of Canterbury, in settling in England, had taken his fill of the fables which everybody in England except William of Newburgh was greedily swallowing down. In page 55 he has something to say about Belinus and Arthur, and he has so far identified himself with the land of Arthur that he speaks of "*arrogantia nostra*" with a clear reference to inhabitants of the Isle of Britain. Lanfranc, it must be remembered, went further still, and spoke of "*insula nostra*" and "*nos Angli.*"

William, then, was a monk of Christ Church, but of foreign birth, and his personal knowledge of Thomas began only in the last days of the Archbishop's life. He had been admitted to the monastery during the Archbishop's exile, and he was ordained deacon by him in the Ember-week before his death. Of his two books, the whole of the second is given to the events which followed the return of Thomas to England, while the whole of his former life is comprised in the first, which is certainly the longer of the two. The part of the story for which William is specially important is his very full narrative of the transactions which went on at the court of the young King Henry after the return of Thomas to England. It is among these transactions that William the son of Ealdhelm comes in, a grand turning round of Thierry's romance, where the man of undoubted English descent appears as one of the opponents of the supposed "Saxon" champion.

But the larger part of the present volume is taken up with the collection of the miracles of Thomas made by the same William, and, what is to be noticed, dedicated to the elder King Henry. This should be noticed and compared with the tone which the writer takes in the Life. He is very anxious to free the King from all suspicion in any share in the Archbishop's death, and gives great prominence to Henry's justification of himself. And among the miracles is one where Firmin, a physician of Canterbury, has a vision, in which he sees the names both of the King and the Archbishop about to be written in the Book of Life. This again must be taken in connexion with the famous saying of Herbert of Bosham, that both the King and the Archbishop had alike a zeal for God, and that it was for God alone to know which zeal was according to knowledge. These sayings, coming from devoted admirers of the Archbishop, should be further compared with William of Newburgh's dispassionate statement of the whole matter. It would seem that it was easier for men at the time, who could see the motives of both sides, to do justice to both sides, than it has sometimes been found to be in later times, since the whole matter has been made a test of partisanship. And of course, besides this, when Thomas was once canonized, and had become the most popular of saints, it was the policy of

Henry and of all who had taken his side to throw themselves with special zeal into the new worship. That our author was not a mere flatterer, but one who ventured to pass an independent judgment on the events of his time, appears from a remarkable passage in which he speaks his mind freely about the invasion of Ireland. St. Thomas works a prodigious miracle by restoring to life a knight who had died of sickness in the war without confession; and our author comments:—

*Factum est igitur non sine causa in conspectu eorum qui sine causa proximos suos inermes inquietabant, nationemque, quamvis incultam et barbaram, tamen cultricem fidei et Christianæ religionis observatricem, facinus præclarum et memoria dignum.*

When William wrote, the worship of Thomas was naturally the popular worship of the day. A new saint was of course looked to for special displays of miraculous power, and we are told by our author, in so many words, that in such cases the elder saints rather held back from any displays on their own part, in order that their new brother might have a fair field for working. The vast collection of signs and wonders which we find here gathered together of course suggests the same kind of questions which are suggested by every collection of the kind. How much, if any, was actual imposture? How much is mere exaggeration in the telling? How much is the effect of that process which may be called either fancy or faith? How much comes from attributing a supernatural cause to events which are easily explained by natural causes? All these points were discussed long ago by Professor Stubbs in his preface to the Waltham Book. And his remarks apply with equal force to all stories of the kind. But it should be borne in mind that the miraculous stories are not at all confined to professed collectors of such tales, like the present William. Stories no less wonderful are told with undoubting faith by a critical historian like William of Newburgh, and an experienced Court official like Roger of Howden. Those who are used to the writings of this age soon come to take the miraculous element in collections of this kind for granted, and to look through the tales to see what light they throw upon other matters. For, as these stories are for the most part private stories, tales of what happened to otherwise unknown persons of all classes, there is no kind of evidence which throws more light on all points of language, nomenclature, habits, and all things bearing on private and daily life. Thus a crowd of stories show how common marriage, or something equivalent to marriage, still was, on the part of the clergy. A crowd of miracles are wrought on behalf of the wives or mistresses and the children of priests, without either the martyr himself or his chronicler seeming in the least scandalized. Yet St. Thomas was otherwise not lax on such points, and he would have nothing to say to the offerings of a man or woman who was living in fornication. A crowd of other points are illustrated. We get, for instance, a vivid picture of the brutal punishments inflicted in the King's courts, when we read two stories, one of them certified by no less a person than Hugh of Puiset, Bishop of Durham, how two women who had been mutilated were restored by the miraculous power of the saint. One of these is also found in the other collection of miracles by Benedict. In comparing that collection with the present one, we again see the difference between the work of the Englishman and the work of the foreigner. In Benedict's collection most of the miracles are wrought in England, and most commonly on behalf of people bearing English names. In William's collection, on the other hand, miracles are wrought in all other parts of the world, and in English stories the names are more often Norman than English. Yet we get a precious bit of English in the form of an anthem which the saint desired to have sung in the English tongue, and it is an important point in the history of language when we hear of an English knight getting a teacher from Normandy to teach his son French. Yet if there be any meaning in words, this must be the meaning of the following tale:—

*Tornator Durandus nomine, Normannus natione, filium suum Symonem, annos jam pubertatis ingredientem, partes Anglicanas induxerat, qui doceret filium ejusdam militis linguam suam.*

In a good many cases the saint brings dead animals to life for the benefit of their owners. Among others, he restores a dead gander, whose neck had been twisted and his feathers plucked by some naughty boys. Anselm, we may suspect, would have punished the boys as well as restored the gander. But perhaps the most marvellous tale of all is that of a tame starling which, among other imitations of human speech, had learned to say a prayer to St. Thomas. The pious bird, being seized by a hawk, repeated his prayer, seemingly in earnest, and was presently set free from his enemy's grasp.

We must give Mr. Robertson the credit which he asks for the pains he has taken in fixing the names of the places at which the different stories are placed. It is indeed often a hard task to recognize a plain English name when we have it in an antique form, and when that antique form is further disfigured by the corruptions of a foreigner. The volume greatly wants an index. There will doubtless be a general index of the whole series when it is finished, but we want an index to each volume, as in the volumes of Giraldus edited by Mr. Dimock. It is especially needful in a collection like the present, so full of small anecdotes and of names of persons and places. Still, even without an index, Mr. Robertson has amply fulfilled the promise in his preface, of making something more intelligible than Dr. Giles. We would gladly have seen so great a subject in stronger hands still, but we certainly have no reason to find any positive fault with what we have got.



## LIFE AND CORRESPONDENCE OF GENERAL BURGOWNE.\*

THE object of this volume is to rehabilitate in public estimation a tattered reputation. The result is a highly interesting book. Whether Mr. De Fonblanque has been successful in his task—undertaken, he says, at the instance of the granddaughters of the subject of his memoir, and the children of one of England's most distinguished soldiers—the reader will be able to infer from the following remarks.

Mr. De Fonblanque sets out by proving satisfactorily in the first place that John Burgoyne was born in wedlock, and that he was not, as Horace Walpole and others, including the usually accurate Earl Stanhope, have asserted, of illegitimate birth. Born in the year 1722, his father being the younger son of a baronet, and his mother the daughter of a wealthy London merchant, he was educated at Westminster, and became a captain of dragoons at twenty-two. A year later he eloped with Lady Charlotte Stanley, daughter of the eleventh Earl of Derby, and sister to an intimate friend, Lord Strange. Contrary to received opinion on such marriages, this union turned out a very happy one, and the Derby family soon became reconciled with Burgoyne. But before this happened want of means obliged him to leave the army and take his wife abroad. After losing several years' seniority in this way, he was re-instated in the army, and gazetted in 1756 junior captain of the 11th Dragoons, being then thirty-four years of age. But promotion was rapid in the Seven Years' War, which had just broken out, and the cadet of a great Whig house would of course get his full share; and after serving in the attack on Ocherbourg, and in the unfortunate expedition to St. Malo of 1758, when the British troops were very roughly handled, he was appointed to the command of the newly raised 16th Dragoons, or, as they came to be called, Burgoyne's Light-Horse, which he soon brought into very efficient order. In 1760 he served as a volunteer in the expedition against Belle Isle, the cavalry detachment which embarked being too small for a lieutenant-colonel's command. But his first principal military service was in the expedition to Portugal in 1762, when the English came to the rescue of that country on its invasion by the Spanish and French. This war in some sort recalls the efforts of the Duke of Wellington under not dissimilar circumstances. The Count La Lippe, who was placed at the head of the allied forces, was one of the best soldiers of the age, and the Portuguese furnished a good raw material, although wretchedly equipped and officered. Nevertheless the heterogeneous body of English, Germans, and Portuguese collected under La Lippe made a very good fight of it, and Burgoyne, now a brigadier at the head of 3,000 cavalry, mostly Portuguese, distinguished himself at the outset by a very dashing surprise of the enemy's advanced troops at Valencia.

The war came to an end with the conclusion of peace in the following year, and Burgoyne came home a colonel, and with a great reputation for gallantry and intelligence, to take the seat for Midhurst to which he had shortly before been elected. Peace for Great Britain lasted for fourteen years, during the early part of which Burgoyne made a long tour to the seat of the late war on the Continent, visiting the scenes of most of Frederic's battles, with a view to writing a work on the subject. He sent home to the Government some very observant criticisms on the three great Continental armies, and it is remarkable that he formed a much higher opinion of the Austrians than of the Prussians. The latter, notwithstanding their wonderful victories, had, in Burgoyne's opinion, deteriorated:—

Most of the generals who eminently possessed the great parts of their profession perished in the war, or are worn out by the fatigue of it, or have sought occasions to retire; the greatest part of the present set have recommended themselves by their assiduity upon the parade, and are men of very confined education . . . and Prussian officers, by length of time and experience, only become more expert artificers to prepare and sharpen a fine weapon . . . awkward and ignorant if compelled to employ it themselves.

He speaks disparagingly also of the Prussian cavalry. Of the Austrian army he says that it "shows all the natural advantages the Prussians want" (p. 69). Of the French army he remarks (p. 77) that "the want of subordination and discipline has long been supposed the cause of all their misfortunes;" and, noticing the severity of treatment of the French soldier which had just been copied from the Prussians by the Duke de Choiseul, the French War Minister, in order to remedy these defects, he observes that "the French character would bear the old principles of glory and duty to be wound up to a height that would answer the purposes of the strictest disciplinarians," and foretells that the free use of the stick on parade, imported from over the border, may possibly bring the army into a worse condition than before.

In 1768 Burgoyne was appointed Governor of Fort William in Scotland:—

With a handsome person, a manner the charm of which, it was said, neither man nor woman could easily resist, a genial, kindly nature which drew all hearts towards him, a ready wit, a cultivated mind, and the prestige derived from his reputation as a soldier, a speaker, and a poet . . . he basked in the full sunshine of life. Happy in his home, universally popular in society, successful in his profession, rising into prominence in Parliament, all surrounding circumstances justified him in indulging in the hope of eminence in public life and of gratified ambitions in time to come.

Then came the American war; and Burgoyne, who had steadily opposed the infatuated policy which brought it about, but who

was too ambitious a soldier to refuse military employment, was sent out the junior of three major-generals—Howe and Clinton being the seniors—appointed to the staff of the small force then assembled at Boston. Burgoyne, who was now fifty-three years of age, did not much relish the subordinate position to which he was posted, there not being really troops enough for three major-generals to command, and used all his Court and Ministerial interest to be made Governor of New York; and his dissatisfaction was to a certain extent justified by the fact that he was merely an unemployed eyewitness of the battle of Bunker's Hill, a very interesting account of which will be found in his correspondence. Even at this early period of the contest Burgoyne clearly foresaw what would be the final result if the Ministry continued to carry on the war in the fatuous way they began—for already the troops found themselves outnumbered and without money or supplies—and in a letter to the Secretary of State he states his opinion that there is no practicable alternative between carrying on the war on a vastly larger scale and in a more energetic way, or abandoning the contest:—

I am fully persuaded that any intermediate measure between these disagreeable extremes [relinquishing the claims to tax the Colonies, or waging war on a great scale], except that of withdrawing your army, and leaving the restraints of trade enforced by a fleet to operate, which would be a work of long protraction, I repeat my full persuasion that any other intermediate measure, supposing the confederation to be general, will be productive of much fruitless expense, great loss of blood, and a series of disappointments.—

The wretched Government which then misruled the country, and the obstinate King, had at any rate a clear warning from one who had the best opportunity of judging. But, although Burgoyne from the first took the gravest view of the issue, he was too good a soldier not to be ready with his sword. He got leave indeed to England in the autumn of 1775, after using every sort of interest for permission to do so, but sailed in the following spring with reinforcements to Canada, where he served as second in command to Sir Guy Carleton. The campaign of 1776 was not eventful, and the Government, dissatisfied with Carleton, limited his command for the future to the Canadian provinces, and gave to Burgoyne, who again came home in the autumn of 1776, the charge of the expedition with which his name has become indelibly associated.

The scheme was in one sense well planned. A force marching from Canada by way of Lakes Champlain and George, and co-operating with another advancing to join it by way of the Hudson from New York, would cut off the New England States from the rest of the Union, and thus it was hoped to strike a decisive blow. But the movement of two armies acting on exterior lines from distant bases, with the enemy between them, is always a ticklish operation—in fact, only justifiable in case of great superiority of strength—and in this instance the imbecile conduct of the British Government rendered failure almost a certainty. The instructions dictated to General Burgoyne, regarding the expedition ordered to start southward from Canada, permitted no latitude or discretion in the mode of carrying it out. He was not even allowed the option of turning aside and moving to the eastward on New England, if he found the obstacles in his front too great to be overcome. He was to push on by way of Lakes Champlain and George until he should effect a junction somewhere on the Hudson with Sir William Howeadvancing from New York to meet him. But, although everything thus depended on the two generals acting strenuously in concert, the Government, with a degree of folly that would seem incredible if it had not been proved against them, while thus giving Burgoyne positive and unconditional instructions as to his share of the business, actually left Howe such complete liberty of action as to justify him in setting out for the south at the very time that the force with which he was intended to effect a junction was advancing to meet him from the north. Indeed the only orders given to Howe were "comprised in this casual sentence contained in Lord George Germain's despatch of 18th May, '77, with reference to the threatened operations of the insurgent army in the south: 'I trust, however, that whatever you meditate will be executed in time for you to co-operate with the army to proceed from Canada.'" The suppression of the revolt was perhaps from the first an impossible task, but truly the wretched Government of the day did its best to assist the colonies in establishing their independence. A despatch containing full and explicit instructions to Howe for his co-operation with Burgoyne was indeed written, but by one of those shameful acts of official neglect of which our history unfortunately affords but too many examples, this document was pigeon-holed in the Secretary of State's office awaiting the Minister's signature, where it was found after the convention of Saratoga.

The history of the ill-fated expedition is excellently told by Mr. De Fonblanque. At first all went swimmingly, and Fort Ticonderoga, on Lake George, was taken in brilliant style, the news causing great excitement and satisfaction at home; and, but for the strongly expressed wish of Burgoyne himself, communicated by his friends to the King, he would have at once received the distinction of the Bath, at that time a considerable one. But at this point the success of the campaign ended. The whole distance to be traversed was only about two hundred miles as the crow flies, but through a country for the most part roadless, covered with virgin forest, and bristling with difficulties. The means of transport were deficient; the Indian allies were more troublesome than useful; the expectation of aid from loyalist settlers proved delusive. As Burgoyne pushed on he could get no news of the expected army coming to meet him, which, in

\* *Political and Military Episodes in the Latter Half of the Eighteenth Century. Derived from the Life and Correspondence of the Right Hon. John Burgoyne, General, Statesman, Dramatist.* By Edward Barrington De Fonblanque. London: Macmillan & Co. 1876.

fact, at this very time had started on an expedition to Pennsylvania. He could indeed get no news at all, the scouts being all intercepted and hanged, while a vastly superior force collecting before him barred the road in front. Still Burgoyne pressed on, actuated by a sense of duty compelling him to carry out his instructions to the letter, cutting his way painfully through the woods with enormous labour, till, when he came on Gates's army drawn up at Saratoga on the Hudson, retreat was impossible. A desperate effort to break through the enemy's lines failed after severe loss, and Burgoyne fell back for a brief pause on an entrenched position with his back to the river, cut off from movement in any direction. At this very time Clinton with a small force was actually close to him. One of Burgoyne's messengers had succeeded in reaching Clinton, who had been left in command at New York, and the latter had moved up the Hudson with the small force at his disposal, and was now a short distance below Saratoga. But Burgoyne did not know this, nor, if he had known it, could the issue have been different. Hemmed in on all sides by superior numbers, encumbered with wounded, and with supplies almost exhausted, only one course remained open, and, after a few hours spent in negotiations, the remnant of Burgoyne's small army marched out of their lines with the honours of war, and laid down their arms before their captors.

The question which here arises, and which the reader will find very fully and clearly discussed in this book, is whether this disaster could and might have been avoided, or whether, after a certain point, it was inevitable; in other words, was Burgoyne an able or an incompetent general? The latter has hitherto been the popular impression, but we think that no impartial reader of this very interesting work will continue to be of that opinion. Burgoyne was evidently one of the most professionally accomplished officers of his time; he was distinguished for personal gallantry, and he gained in a high degree the respect and attachment of his troops. No incompetent officer ever succeeded in doing this. That his reputation was so damaged by this great misadventure was due to the scandalous ill-treatment which both he and his unfortunate army received from the Government, especially from the Secretary of State, Lord George Germain, who, Mr. De Fonblanque observes, was probably the meanest and most incompetent person that has held high office in modern times. Burgoyne was thrown over to save the credit of the Government; it must be added that the King did not come much short of his obsequious Ministers in ill treatment of the unfortunate general. Such was the political degradation of those times that the Government which was losing the colonies could yet always command a majority; and Burgoyne, although exceptionally well placed for obtaining justice from his position as a member of Parliament, with considerable reputation as a debater, and on intimate terms with the leaders of the Whig party, could yet not succeed in obtaining the inquiry into his conduct which he demanded, and suffered for many years all the contumely awarded to a political scapegoat.

Reviewing the case now, it does certainly appear that the only other alternative open to Burgoyne was to have retreated upon Canada at an early period of the campaign; or, still better, perhaps, not to have embarked on it at all. But by taking this course he would have jeopardized the position of Howe, if the latter, as he believed, had really been advancing from the opposite direction. Burgoyne sacrificed himself to a chivalrous sense of duty. If any fault can be found with his dispositions, it would be that he did not perhaps sufficiently insist on being provided with proper transport and supplies before starting. But it is easy to be wise after the event; and, as Burgoyne himself remarks, in his "Narrative" of the campaign published in 1780, "where war is concerned few men in command would stand acquitted, if any after knowledge of facts and circumstances were brought in argument against decisions of the moment and apparent exigencies of the occasion." It may be added that the reputation of Lord Cornwallis did not appreciably suffer from his surrender under not very dissimilar conditions, but it is very doubtful if he displayed any higher military qualities than the unfortunate Burgoyne.

A word must be said in praise of the way in which the author has executed his task. While doing battle valiantly, and as we think with complete success, for General Burgoyne's reputation, M. De Fonblanque avoids the common fault of converting the subject of his memoir into a blameless hero. Indeed he manifests a keen sense of his literary and other failings. He has also avoided the common error of prolixity. Although it would have been easy to extend it over two volumes, Burgoyne's life has been condensed into one moderate-sized volume. The references to persons and events which appear in the correspondence are clearly explained in the notes, and the general result is a highly interesting and instructive work. The moral to be drawn from Burgoyne's misadventure is to the full as applicable to the present times as to the time when it happened.

#### THE VICAR OF MORWENSTOW.\*

FEW tourists during the last thirty or five-and-thirty years can have made their way along the north coast of Cornwall

\* *The Vicar of Morwenstow: a Life of Robert Stephen Hawker, M.A.* By S. Baring-Gould, M.A. London: Henry S. King & Co. 1876.

*Memoirs of the late Rev. Robert Stephen Hawker, M.A., sometime Vicar of Morwenstow, in the Diocese of Exeter.* Collected, arranged, and edited by the Rev. Frederick George Lee, D.C.L., Vicar of All Saints, Lambeth. London: Chatto & Windus. 1876.

without at least hearing of the Vicar of Morwenstow. If they were themselves of any note they were sure to make his personal acquaintance; and many will recall his strangely-dressed figure, standing at the open door of his vicarage, which commanded the long, descending road of approach, ready to greet his visitors "with a sunny smile and both hands extended in welcome." Never were a poet and his dwelling-place more completely in harmony. Mr. Hawker's very peculiar temperament, to some extent inherited, was nurtured and developed at Morwenstow in a manner which would have been almost impossible in any other English parish. Wild legends, strange fragments of folk-lore, and old-world customs and ceremonies long disused elsewhere, lingered, and still linger, in that remote corner; while the shelves and spires of the iron-bound coast afford scenery the impressive grandeur of which can hardly be exceeded. His love for such scenery and such legends was part of his heritage as a Cornishman; and many of what we regard as his best verses—"The Silent Tower of Bortrean," "Mawgan of Melhuach," "A Croon on Hennacliff," and, above all, the famous "Song of the Western Men," with its "Trelawny" burden—are full of the true spirit of the country—a spirit which makes itself felt, but which is hardly less difficult to seize and to "bind in words" than the scent of the furze and the heather filling the long coombes that wind toward the sea. Morwenstow supplied the poet with ample material for his verse; and the extreme seclusion of the place, which is still, and always must be, far away from railways, helped to develop the independent thought, the peculiar and imaginative notions, and the impatience of control which distinguished Robert Hawker as a theologian and a parish priest. He hardly left his parish during the forty years for which he was its vicar. "The Lord shut him in," he would say, "as Noah was shut into the ark." The sea on one side, and on the other a broad tract of land without great towns and almost without villages, separated him from his fellows; and the natural result was that he became altogether unlike other men. The Vicar of Morwenstow at the beginning of the fourteenth century could hardly have differed more completely in all his thoughts and feelings from an ordinary English clergyman than the Vicar in the nineteenth. He would not have been himself elsewhere. But it says not a little for his native power of mind that isolation and seclusion, while they produced much eccentricity, were so far from extinguishing that power, as would certainly have been the case with one less naturally gifted, that they steadily developed and sustained it.

All who approached Mr. Hawker must have been struck, first by his peculiarities and then by his mental activity. The two memoirs which have appeared so soon after his death sufficiently attest the widespread interest felt in his life, character, and genius. Mr. Baring-Gould's book is very amusing, and shows us the Vicar with all his kindliness and all his eccentricity. Dr. Lee brings out the theologian somewhat more strongly. Both writers have inserted much irrelevant matter. We do not greatly admire Mr. Baring-Gould's description of Long Bill Martin's private Bible Christian meeting at Kilkhampton, which has nothing to do with Robert Hawker; but we very much prefer that to the unnecessarily long and mischievous discussions and appendices which Dr. Lee has introduced with reference to the reception of Mr. Hawker, on the last day of his life, into the Romish communion. Definite conclusions are one thing. If Dr. Lee really believes that Mr. Hawker (or his friends for him) was justified in taking the step which he did, let him say so plainly. But no man has a right to scatter his doubts broadcast about the world. On this subject, however, we do not propose to dwell. It may well call for discussion elsewhere, or separately; but it is far pleasanter to recall the Vicar of Morwenstow as we remember him during his long life, in the quaint vicarage which he built for himself under the shadow of St. Morwenna's tower.

Robert Stephen Hawker was the grandson of Dr. Hawker, Vicar of Charles Church, Plymouth, a well-known Calvinistic divine, whose "Morning and Evening Portions" are still in favour with those of his own school. Dr. Hawker affected strange turns and oddities in his discourses; and on one occasion, after pausing for some minutes and looking full at the Mayor and Corporation of Plymouth, seated in state below his pulpit, he exclaimed, "There are no scarlet robes in heaven"—a statement which he was perhaps hardly justified in making. Much of his grandfather's love of singularity passed to Robert Hawker, who lived at Plymouth for some time, until the pranks in which he delighted, and in particular the mystification of certain devout ladies attached to the congregation, became unbearable, and he was sent back to his father, at that time curate of Stratton, in Cornwall. He then passed to the Grammar School at Cheltenham, and in 1823 he was entered at Pembroke College, Oxford. But his father was unable to keep him there. There lived, says Mr. Baring-Gould:—

at Whitstone, near Holsworthy, four Miss Pans, daughters of Colonel Pans. They had been left with an annuity of 200*l.* apiece, as well as lands and a handsome place. At the time when Mr. Jacob Hawker announced to his son that a return to Oxford was impossible, the four ladies were at Efford, near Bude, a farm and house leased from Sir Thomas Acland. Directly that Robert Hawker learnt his father's decision, without waiting to put on his hat, he ran from Stratton to Bude, arrived hot and blown at Efford, and proposed to Miss Charlotte Pans to become his wife. The lady was then aged forty-one, one year older than his mother; she was his god-mother, and had taught him his letters. Miss Pans accepted him, and they were married in November, when he was twenty.

Thus he was able to return to Oxford, to finish his course there, and to win the Newdigate—the subject being "Pompeii." Miss Pans made him an excellent wife, and the marriage, in spite of all



that might have been prophesied, turned out a very happy one. He took his wife to Oxford riding behind him on a pillion, and migrated from Pembroke to Magdalen Hall. On leaving Oxford he and Mrs. Hawker established themselves at Morwenstow, on the coast, some seven miles from Stratton. There he read for Holy Orders, and even then forecast, in rhyme his future-connexion with the place:—

Welcome wild rock and lonely shore,  
Where round my days dark seas shall roar,  
And thy grey fane, Morwenna, stand  
The beacon of the Eternal Land.

His first curacy was at North Tamerton, a quiet village on the upper course of the Tamar, and still in the Stratton district. In 1834 he became Vicar of Morwenstow, on the presentation of Dr. Phillpotts, who had not long become Bishop of Exeter.

Morwenstow had been without a vicar for a very long period. What passed in the outer world was little known there; and in the adjoining parish of Wellcombe, which for some time was attached to it, an ancient dame once showed to Mr. Hawker her Prayer-Book, "very nearly worn out, printed in the reign of George II., and very much thumbed at the page from which she assiduously prayed for the welfare of Prince Frederick." Morwenstow abounded in Wesleyans and Bryanites. The parish is agricultural, for the coast is without harbours, and there is little or no fishing. But there was wealth of another sort to be gained from the sea. The "wrecking" for which the Cornish coast was so long infamous found here one of its most productive quarters; and its results affected the character and disposition of almost every native. The long line of coast between Hartland and Padstow, with Tintagel standing out like a rocky buttress in the midst, is one of the most dangerous in this country, and if, under a fierce storm from the north or north-west, a vessel is beaten inland from the open sea, there is little or no chance for her. The saying runs:—

From Padstow point to Lundy light  
Is a watery grave by day or night.

The storms that howl along this wild coast must be felt to be understood. The roar of the breakers is heard far inland, and great flakes of foam have been known to fall in the churchyard of Holsworthy, from which the sea is at least ten miles distant. The old Shetland belief too, just as we find it in Scott's romance of the *Pirate*, prevailed, and no doubt still prevails, in North Cornwall. To save a shipwrecked man was to make for yourself a certain enemy, and no good could possibly come of it. As in Shetland, "providential wrecks" supplied farmers and labourers with many of the necessities, and some of the luxuries, of life. "I do not see why it is," said a Cornish clerk one day, "why there be prayers in the Buke o' Common Prayer for rain and for fine weather, and thanksgivings for them and for peace, and there's no prayer for wrecks, and thanksgiving for a really gude one when it is come." Wrecking—that is, the showing of false lights, or the direct misleading of a vessel—is perhaps no longer practised, but the spirit is far from being extinct. In 1845, when a ship came ashore in Melhuach Bay, between Morwenstow and Bude, a rocket was fired over it, and the hawser was successfully secured; but some wretches, "more greedy for prey than careful to save life," cut through the rope, and of all the crew the only man saved was the captain.

The wrecks which occur every winter along this coast are sufficiently terrible without the addition of human crime. Some of the most striking have been described by Mr. Hawker himself, in his *Footprints of Former Men in Far Cornwall*. His own exertions on such occasions were indefatigable; and we well remember seeing him, in alb and stole, conducting upward from the beach a sad procession which bore with it the bodies of two sailors, found the same morning on the rocks. For such a ceremony he had a special office, and the dead were placed in his church until they could be decently laid to rest in the sunny churchyard; in one instance, at least, with the figure-head of the shattered vessel raised near them as a memorial. The church itself contains much curious imagery and sculpture which, to Mr. Hawker's fancy, had been mainly suggested by the sea and things of the sea. He found seals' heads in some of the rude Norman grotesques; the cradle roof of the nave was the upturned keel of a vessel, and the cable moulding of the font was the ripple of the waters of Gennesaret. The church was his chamber of meditation. He frequented it at all hours, by day and by night, and was more than once favoured there by a vision of St. Morwenna herself. "I have seen her," he wrote. "She has told me that she lies here; and at her feet ere long I hope to lay my old bones." This, however, was a communication to a favoured friend. To ordinary persons he did not unfold himself so unreservedly; and when a neighbouring vicar once asked him "what were his views and opinions," Mr. Hawker drew him to the window and said:—"There is Hennacliff, there is the Atlantic stretching to Labrador, there Morwenstow crag, here the church and graves. These are my views; as to my opinions, I keep them to myself."

St. Morwenna (so Mr. Baring-Gould tells us, and there is no better authority) was one of the many daughters of Brychan, a Welsh kinglet who died in 450. Her legend brings her to the Cornish coast; and possibly she established her cell in the valley where her church now stands. But the "stow" termination, which meets us often in this part of Cornwall, cannot have been given until after some kind of English colonization. Mr. Hawker, however, who developed his historical views very much in his own fashion, preferred going back to the British church and British Christianity. Accepting an old theory which has now been

abandoned by all scholars, he determined that the most ancient Christianization of Cornwall came from the East; and accordingly, High Churchman as he was from the beginning, the bent of his mind, where it was not quite independent, was rather towards the Eastern Churches than towards Rome. He wore a cope, and a very wonderful one, for celebration, after the fashion of the Armenian Church; and at one time he adopted a pink hat, without any brim, also designed after some Eastern type. Latterly his usual dress was a dark blue jersey, with a red cross worked into the side, a purplish garment, half cassock, half coat, and tall fisherman's boots. The dress set off a fine figure, and a very handsome, expressive countenance. It had a dash of the sea, which in his mind had always been connected with the church; and it harmonized admirably with the wild country, and with the wilder stories belonging to it, which he poured forth in profusion as he wandered with some favoured guest along the broken cliffs, or through the woods of Sir Bevil Grenville's Stowe, which adjoins his parish. The superstitions of the district were not superstitions to him. He deflected, with an elaborate theory, his belief in the evil eye. He maintained that witches were not by any means extinct, and of one old woman he said, "I have seen the five black spots placed diagonally under her tongue, which are evidences of what she is. They are like those in the feet of swine, made by the entrance into them of the demons at Gadara." About mermaids he was not quite so sure, though one of his old people assured him that he had seen and heard one, and that "the sound of her music was exactly like Bill Martin's voice, that singed second counter in church." He was firmly convinced that he had himself once seen a pixy—a diminutive creature, the last, we may suppose, of his race, who was heard of from time to time in the parish, and who one day showed himself to the Vicar at the opening of a rocky cleft. In many of his sayings and verses which refer to the ministry of angels and to the power of evil spirits there is wisdom and poetry of a very high order. The latter is perhaps most conspicuous in his theory that a plot of ground called the "Chapel piece of Morwenna," on which some kind of oratory had formerly existed, was kept clean of thorn and furze by the watchful care of angelic "existences." The chancel of his church was strewn with marjoram and wild thyme "for the angels to smell"; but the decorations went little further. Burnt ends of matches were left on the altar, and a deal kitchen table was part of the furniture of his chancel. His cats, nine or ten in number, generally went with him to church, and amused themselves as they pleased while he read the service; but one of them, having on one occasion caught a mouse in the chancel, was excommunicated until she should learn, like Dandie Dimont's bairns, "to behave herself mair distinctly." Birds too were especial favourites, and he often quoted a saying of Thomas Aquinas, "ubi aves ibi angeli." So greatly did he desire a colony of rooks for a grove of trees near the vicarage that he made it the subject of an especial prayer, going for that purpose to his chancel, and kneeling before the altar.

A man like this would, no doubt, as Mr. Baring-Gould suggests, have become a mere dreaming visionary but for his firm grasp of certain fundamental truths of Christianity. He attached himself to no school. He was never what was once known as a Tractarian, and still less what is now understood by a Ritualist. But he was outspoken and fearless in his zeal for what he held to be the true teaching of the Church; and few could listen unmoved to his sermons—powerful, earnest, pictorial, and yet simple in the extreme. The Dissent in his parish was of course a great trouble to him. It was not easy to manage Bryanite divines who, convicted as they might be of gross immorality, were nevertheless held to be "sweet Christians"; yet he lived, so far as he might, on friendly terms with them, and his care for all his poor, in temporal matters no less than in spiritual, was unceasing. Day and night he was at their service. He held indeed that he and his parish were under very especial guidance and protection; and he never hesitated to appeal before the altar against those who opposed him in his schemes for good. He held that they suffered accordingly. This is one of the points, and it is a painful one, in which he showed himself far more of a mediæval than a modern pastor. There is a passage in the same spirit, quoted by Dr. Lee (p. 146) from a letter written late in life, which can only be characterized as shocking.

Mr. Hawker's *Cornish Ballads* and his prose volume of *Footprints* are too well known to need recommending here. His poetry, if not of the highest order, has the true ring. He was a born poet, and wrote because he could not help it. His prose stories are admirable. We confess to a doubt whether, like Sir Walter Scott, he has not supplied some of his Cornish legends with a hat and cane "to fit them for going into company"; but, if so, they are none the less delightful, and they reflect in a wonderful manner the very colouring and atmosphere of that wild coast. We can only regret that Mr. Hawker's biographers have not given us more of his letters. They must exist in great numbers, and were often as striking in their contents as in their appearance—written as they were on a peculiar parchment-toned paper, ruled with red lines, and with a deep purple ink fit for an emperor of the East. The writing was large and very characteristic. The seal was sometimes the mystic Ichthys, sometimes the pentacle of Solomon.

Dr. Lee has undoubtedly shown that recent events, and in particular the passing of the Public Worship Regulation Act, had much troubled Mr. Hawker. He wrote that "his soul was low"; and it is probable that some doubt had crossed his mind as to his position in the Church of England. As to the last scene, there

are discrepancies. Mr. Baring-Gould's statement, which is borne out by that of Mr. Hawker's old servant, is that he was quite unconscious when the sacraments of the Roman Church were administered to him. Mrs. Hawker (not his first wife, who died in 1863, but the lady whom he married shortly afterwards), writing to Dr. Lee, declares that "his reason returned at the moment when, in the morning, I told him that a priest should see him in the evening. He broke forth into the jubilant Antiphon, the 'Gloria in Excelsis,' 'Te Deum,' and other canticles of praise." But this matter we hardly care to discuss. His name will be inseparably connected with the "dark grey tower" of Morwenstow, and with the cliffs that guard the coast. It is no great wonder that, since he was laid to rest in the cemetery at Plymouth, his well-known figure has been seen, according to some of his simple parishioners, bending sadly over a grave in his own churchyard, beside which he had always hoped to sleep himself.

#### DISCOVERIES IN NEW GUINEA.\*

**C**APTAIN MORESBY'S *Discoveries and Surveys in New Guinea* is a narrative of explorations and surveys conducted with great zeal, skill, and judgment, and fruitful of results valuable alike to the ethnologist, the navigator, the trader, and the intending colonist. The book is free from the faults that too often disfigure works of a similar kind. There is no depreciation of preceding labourers in the same field. There is, on the contrary, a readiness to acknowledge the full value of their services; and there is also an eagerness to do justice to the zealous co-operation of the officers and men under his command which very favourably impresses the reader. The style, too, is just what it should be, perfectly free from all pretentiousness. It is blemished by none of that offensive fine writing which makes so many records of travel insufferable, by no straining after effect, and no ambitious word-painting. The gallant author writes as a sailor should, in a manly, straightforward manner; and the charm of naturalness and lucidity is heightened by very considerable descriptive power. Highly, however, as we rate the literary merits of the book, and valuable as is the contribution it makes to our geographical knowledge of a region which is doubtless destined to have an important influence on the development of commerce in the Far East, its most pleasing feature is the abundant evidence it affords of the humanity, right feeling, tact, and judgment of its author. In his many months of close and constant intercourse with different tribes of suspicious and easily offended savages he was never provoked to use his great superiority of force to their detriment. We are happy to be able to believe that the officers in our navy are extremely few who would wilfully abuse their incomparably superior strength for the destruction of the helpless aborigines with whom their duty brings them into contact. But savages are capricious, treacherous, and quarrelsome, and it requires much tact, firmness, and forbearance, as well as a ready wit and a capacity for understanding the workings of the untutored intellect, to avoid disputes with them. These qualities Captain Moresby possesses in a high degree. As an instance of his power of divining the intention of savages, and of his humane anxiety to be spared the necessity of using force against them, as well as for its ethnological interest, we may cite an incident that occurred at one of the Killerton Islands. On the first approach of the *Basilisk* the natives were inclined to be hostile, but the prudence of the party sent on shore prevailed, and some of the natives put off for the ship, taking with them a dog. Springing up the side of the vessel, the leader, carrying the dog in his arms, dashed out its brains on the quarter-deck, before any one had a notion of what he was about to do. The ire of the officer of the watch was aroused at this defilement of Her Majesty's quarter-deck, and he bundled the savages into their canoes. Captain Moresby, however, rightly guessed that the sacrificial act was intended as a pledge of friendship, and, apprehensive for the result of what would be regarded as a rejection of peace, he hurried on shore. He found a noisy crowd collected round the dead dog. But his arrival was accepted as a full atonement for the affront, and the best terms were established with the natives. Here there was no intention to give offence to the natives. The officer of the watch, we can well believe, would have sincerely regretted had hostilities followed his hasty act. Nevertheless, had his misconception of the sacrifice of the dog been allowed to work its effect, hostilities would probably have ensued, and the unfortunate savages would have been slaughtered.

In the middle of January 1871 the *Basilisk* was ordered to proceed from Sydney to Cape York, the most northern point of the Australian continent. She had two routes to choose between, one inside, the other outside, the Great Barrier Reef—a barrier which runs north and south 1,200 miles, at a distance varying from seven to eighteen miles from the shore of Australia. The *Basilisk* took the inner course, as, in spite of its intricacy, being shorter as well as more sheltered. On the way she fell in with an evidence of the horrors of the kidnapping trade, a vessel drifting helplessly with a cargo of Solomon Islanders dead and dying. The vessel proved to be the *Peri*. She had been employed to take the islanders to Fiji, but, maddened by hunger, they rose against the crew, and threw them overboard. The poor wretches drifted helplessly without food or water, and, when found

by the *Basilisk*, six of them had already perished. The remainder were saved by the attentions they received. The object of the *Basilisk's* cruise was, first, to land stores at Somerset, a settlement on the extreme northerly point of Cape York, which, from its geographical position, it was hoped would prove another Singapore, but which is fast decaying, and which Captain Moresby thinks ought to be at once abandoned for one of the islands in the Straits; secondly, to visit the pearl-shelling islands in the neighbourhood, to see that the Polynesians employed were not ill used; thirdly, to relieve some Polynesian missionaries sent to those islands; and, lastly, to determine the position of certain dangerous rocks in the Straits. Three months were employed in the performance of these duties, and the vessel then returned to Sydney. Almost immediately she was sent upon a second and longer cruise through the Polynesian Archipelago. And it was only upon her return from this second cruise that she was sent back to Cape York, permission being given to Captain Moresby to spend a certain time in the exploration and survey of the south-eastern coast of New Guinea. In these two cruises, the primary purpose of which was to put down kidnapping, and to see that the islanders legally employed were not ill treated, Captain Moresby collected a considerable body of evidence showing the horrors that had been perpetrated by the ruffians who had revived the slave-trade in the South Seas. But he did not himself witness any of its atrocities, and we are happy to say that his testimony goes to show that the Kidnapping Act of 1872 has proved effectual. So much has been written about the crimes of the kidnappers that we need not here enter upon the subject. But we cannot resist the temptation to extract the following description of one of these kidnappers:—

Near the anchorage was the cotton plantation of one of the most notorious of those lawless men who have been charged with the commission of frightful crimes in procuring labour from the islands, and who, with reckless hardihood, have planted themselves in solitary independence on these islands, prepared to defend their possessions, purchased for a few old Tower muskets, by the terror they inspire. . . . He was a big, burly, middle-aged man, with a large red beard and moustache, a small nose surmounted by light, restless, blue eyes, and a low square forehead, which bethought the power to will and do without regard to consequences. He walked with difficulty, from more than one gunshot wound received from the natives. . . . Gangs of natives from other islands were at work, and appeared to be well fed, and happy enough in the prospect of a musket or two when their term of servitude should expire. There can be no doubt of this man's ultimate wealth, if he can secure his life; but that is the question. As we passed a small neat enclosure, I asked, "What is that?" and he said, "My partner's grave, sir. He was shot there where he is buried, nine months ago, by some of the hill natives who had laid in ambush for him, and shot him as he walked along the path where we now stand." I asked "why they shot him," and the reply was, "They owed him a grudge for something or other." I did not care to press the question, as it was evidently not an agreeable one, and the matter had been settled before my arrival. When we reached his small wooden house, built of planks obtained from the labour vessels, and guarded by an outside fence to stop a rush, he stepped in before and gave me a hearty welcome; and I sat and talked awhile with this strange solitary man. Loaded guns hung around the room, and the pistols in his belt showed that he was ready for any emergency.

The survey of the coast of New Guinea, performed after the return from Polynesia, was accomplished in two distinct cruises. In the first the specific object was, as before, to put down illegal practices in connexion with the pearl-shelling industry. But Captain Moresby obtained leave to visit the coast of New Guinea, and himself undertook the exploration. His labours were completed on his return voyage to England, when a surveyor was sent out to join him, and the Queensland Government lent him a steam pinnace. The great island of New Guinea, though lying so close to the north of Australia, and on the direct line from Queensland to China, is very little known. Previously to Captain Moresby's survey, indeed, even the navigation of Torres Straits was not settled. The Straits, which divide Australia from New Guinea, are about two hundred miles in length, and in the narrowest part almost eighty broad. Over thirty years ago Captain Blackwood, in the *Fly*, had surveyed the southern side of the Straits. But the northern had not been visited; and since then nothing had been done to complete the sounding of these waters. Yet they were becoming increasingly used by merchant vessels, and it was even in contemplation to run a line of steamers through them from Brisbane to Singapore. Captain Moresby's first work was to survey this passage, and here is the result at which he arrived:—

The space of thirty-six miles which lies between Jarvis Island and the low mangrove-covered coast of New Guinea is a mass of coral reefs, and contains no passage for ships, and scarcely any for boats. Thus all the passages by which ships can enter Torres Straits lie between Jarvis Island and Cape York, and are now British waters. These passages are very narrow, under two miles in width; whilst the one most generally taken—the Prince of Wales's Channel, between Hammond Island and the north-west reefs—is nearly a mile and a half wide. We hold this great highway of the ocean, therefore, on the best strategic terms. The average depth of water in these channels is only seven or eight fathoms, and a few torpedoes judiciously placed would effectually block up this route to an enemy.

Sailing to the eastward from Torres Straits along the southern coast of New Guinea, landing here and there, opening friendly communication with the natives, and exploring, as well as time would permit, the harbours, bays, and mouths of rivers met with, Captain Moresby arrived at Testa Island, the utmost limit of the then known coast. Close to this island begins the Louisiade Reef, the dangers of which are such that no navigator had previously encountered them. It was consequently believed that the south-east coast of New Guinea ran out almost to the reefs in a long, narrow promontory; and thence in a north-westerly direction the coast was equally unexplored for nearly four hundred miles. The

\* *Discoveries and Surveys in New Guinea*. By Captain John Moresby, R.N. London: John Murray. 1876.



task which Captain Moresby set himself, then, was to determine the configuration of the south-eastern corner of New Guinea, to survey the unknown north-east coast, and to discover whether there was a passage between the Louisiade Reef and the south-east point. To this latter problem he attached much importance. If such a passage could be found—and he had a strong conviction that it could—it would very materially shorten the voyage from Melbourne, Sydney, or Brisbane to the Chinese ports. We cannot here do justice to the skill, patience, zeal, and energy with which Captain Moresby conducted his explorations, or to the willing and efficient manner in which he was seconded by officers and men—the best proof that he was well fitted for the command. But in the end he triumphed over all obstacles, and achieved the task he had set himself. He found that what had been mistaken for a long promontory was a series of three islands, named by him Hayter, Basilisk, and Moresby Islands, and between Hayter Island and the real south-west point he discovered a navigable passage through which vessels bound for China can sail. This was the limit of Captain Moresby's first exploratory voyage. On his way home he was joined by a skilled surveyor, and took up the work where it had been left off, and he also traced the previously unexplored north-east coast. Thus he has the honour of finally determining the configuration of this magnificent island. The addition he has made to our geographical knowledge is likely to prove of essential service to commerce. In addition, he collected a mass of varied and most interesting information relating to the climate, productions, and scenery of New Guinea, as well as to the character, disposition, and customs of its inhabitants, which will not be less highly prized by adventurers, settlers, and scientific inquirers than are his marine surveys by navigators.

## LETTERS AND PAPERS OF THE REIGN OF HENRY VIII.\*

(Second Notice.)

THE prorogation of the Legatine Court by Campeggio on the 23rd of July, 1529, forms the turning point in the relations of Wolsey and his master. The King was foiled in his expectation that judgment would on that day be passed in his favour, and with the removal of the cause to Rome it was impossible to say how long judgment would be deferred. It was the first great disappointment he had ever experienced. And he had been thwarted in a quarter from which he had least expected opposition. He believed, or at least professed to believe, that the work against Luther which passed as his own composition had done essential service to the Church and the Pope in defending the faith; and, as Mr. Brewer observes, it was probably this conviction more than any other which had induced him to adopt Wolsey's suggestion, and apply to the Pope for a divorce rather than have recourse to more pliable instruments at home:—

Now obstructions and vexatious opposition to his wishes had sprung up where he least expected. Timid and over-awed as she was, Catharine had contrived to lodge a protest against his proceedings at the court of Rome, and by this one act the fabric he had been raising with so much ingenuity, expense, and labour, was levelled to the ground. Fisher, the most devout and self-denying of all his prelates, had freely denounced the King's arts and arguments in his own cause as sophistical and unjustifiable. The boldness of his attitude, so unlike that of the rest of his brethren, had produced a powerful effect; and his firm and daring rebuke lost none of its effect when compared with the timid compliance of Warham and the rest, or the manifest efforts of the Cardinal to intimidate the weaker party.—P. ccccxcv.

At this point we may date the beginning of Wolsey's fall. On July 28 Gardiner, who was rising high in favour with the King and Anne Boleyn, was appointed Secretary, and we have no more confidential communications between the King and the Cardinal. And from this point to near the end of his preface Mr. Brewer is occupied in detailing the sad story of his favourite statesman's fall, and in bespeaking his readers' pity for his sorrows and misfortunes, and admiration for his diplomatic talent and devotion to his master's interests. We are sorry that we are compelled to pronounce so unfavourable a judgment of one who was perhaps the greatest statesman that England had seen, and who, but for the transactions connected with the divorce, might have been thought in moral character, as well as in intellectual endowments, to rank above most of the ecclesiastics and politicians of the day. But, as regards moral character, Sir Thomas More and Bishop Fisher of Rochester stand out as the two men who are specially entitled to our respect and admiration. Both of them died martyrs to the cause which they believed to be that of truth and justice, and the lustre of their virtues is enhanced by the fact that in this world they did not meet with their reward. In the fall of Wolsey, on the other hand, whatever may be the feelings of just indignation with which we regard Anne Boleyn and her faction, his bitter and unscrupulous opponents, however we may grudge them their triumph over an enemy who in every point of character was so greatly their superior, and deep as may be our sympathy with their unhappy victim, there remains on the mind the feeling that the Cardinal's sufferings were due to his having thrown himself into a cause which his conscience could not have approved, and that his fall was the just retribution for his sin.

The Cardinal of York is Mr. Brewer's hero, and there is no

more beautiful or more forcible piece of writing in the whole of this elaborate Introduction than that in which, after detailing the circumstances of the last few months of Wolsey's life, he proceeds to sum up the character and career of this remarkable man. After favourably contrasting the reign of Henry VIII. with that of his father, in spite of the ability of Henry VII.'s Ministers and his own superiority to his son and successor in all the excellences looked for in a sovereign, and glancing at the absence of all that could be deemed splendid and great in the remaining years of the reign when Wolsey's place was vacant, he dwells, as elsewhere in his narrative he has dwelt, upon the undeniable fact that it was owing wholly to Wolsey's powers of administration that England rose from the rank of a third-rate State to a level with the most influential Governments of Europe. We have only to glance at the transactions for the management of the marriage of Prince Arthur and the Princess of Aragon at the beginning of the preceding reign, as detailed in the records at Simancas, to see of how small account this country was held in the councils of Europe at the conclusion of the fifteenth century; whilst Henry VIII. in the first quarter of the sixteenth century enjoyed the satisfaction of finding himself feared and courted by both Francis and the Emperor.

Thus far we entirely agree with the writer, and can only regret that we have not space for giving our readers his opinion in his own words. And again, in his estimate of the hard measure dealt to Wolsey's character by his contemporaries, and to his memory by subsequent historians who have followed in their wake without stopping to examine how far their obloquy was justified by historical fact, Mr. Brewer has exercised a discriminating power which throws into the shade the attempts of all his predecessors in the field. Speaking of later historians, he says:—

They have accepted the estimate of his character and conduct from those who were specially concerned to misrepresent and blacken both. To the professor of the old faith Wolsey was nothing less than the author and promoter of the divorce, the unscrupulous opponent of the Pope, the enemy of her whose cause was bound up with the survival of the old religion. To the Reformer he was the type of the wealth, the luxury, and the worldliness of the ancient Church, which the Reformer hated, and despised. He was the proud prelate who, by his insolence and ambition, had overshadowed the salutary influence of the royal authority, and represented in his own person and actions the intolerable aggressions of the spiritual on the temporal authority. . . . From either of these—for the nation was sharply divided into two portions, who could neither understand nor esteem each other's position, and were only unanimous in condemning the one man of the age who rigidly belonged to neither—it is impossible to obtain a just, fair, or discriminating estimate of Wolsey's character or measures. A reformer so far as to show no especial interest in maintaining the strict Ultramontanism of doctrine or discipline of his own time—an earnest promoter of education and the new learning, if not unfriendly to the religious orders, yet anxious to convert their endowments to better uses—he was still a faithful adherent to the ancient faith and practice in his love of splendid ceremonial, in his political dislike of Lutheranism, in his conviction of the need of a great central spiritual authority to preserve the peace and unity of Christendom.—P. dcccxxv.

As regards the particular subject of the divorce, Mr. Brewer proceeds to vindicate the conduct of the Cardinal, or at least to excuse it, principally on the ground of the necessity in which he found himself. He was in the first instance averse to it, and when he discovered the King's intention to marry Anne Boleyn, he went on his knees to beg him to desist from his ill-starred project. But, finding the King inexorable, and foreseeing that the marriage was inevitable, he threw himself unreservedly into the King's cause and did his utmost to gain the Papal sanction for it. The King was determined to make Anne Boleyn his queen, with the Pope's permission if possible, but, if necessary, without it. It is here that the editor seems to us to act the part of a special pleader. The difficulty of resisting so imperious a master, the extremity of his own danger if he should in any way be discovered thwarting the King's proceedings, the political consideration of the greater evils that would result to Church and State if he adopted a different line, and the earnest desire to aggrandize his country and to exalt his King at the sacrifice of equity and justice, may be allowed in extenuation of Wolsey's conduct in the matter. Still, even if it could be conceded that his conscience was quite clear in changing sides in the matter and furthering the divorce, which, till it was inevitable, he so much dreaded, how is the oppressive conduct towards Catharine, and the wholesale system of lying and deceit with which all the proceedings connected with the divorce were conducted, to be justified? After allowing all possible margin for diplomatic arts, there are principles of morality which underlie all political considerations, and it is simply impossible to regard the measures which Wolsey adopted and sanctioned as consistent with the character which the world has a right to expect in a Christian bishop. We do not think Mr. Brewer means to imply that they were; and in defending his hero against unjust obloquy, it may be said that he was not bound to dwell upon incidents which in the preceding part of his Introduction he has fairly and fearlessly detailed. Yet the following passage seems to suggest a view somewhat different from that which we have felt compelled to adopt:—

If Wolsey, in his grief, disgrace, and leisure moments, regarded his service to the King as incompatible with his service to God, this was not the conviction of his stronger hours, nor yet of many others beside himself. Possibly all that he meant by those memorable words was not the incompatibility of the two in themselves, but that the hours necessarily occupied by prayer, devotion, and contemplation in which the service of God consisted, and for which the monastic and religious institutions and practices of his times furnished so many opportunities and held out numerous examples.—P. dcccxxiii.

\* *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII., preserved in the Public Record Office, the British Museum, and elsewhere in England. Arranged and Catalogued by J. S. Brewer, M.A., under the Direction of the Master of the Rolls, and with the Sanction of Her Majesty's Secretaries of State. Vol. IV. Introduction and Appendix. London: Longmans & Co. 1875.*

Unfortunately, no amount of rhetoric will avail to blot out the stain that must ever remain on the memory of the greatest of English Cardinals; no special pleading will succeed in acquitting Wolsey of the charge of having used the vilest arts of trickery and deceit in persecuting and oppressing the defenceless Queen, and, when he found there was no hope of Anne Boleyn's following in the track of her elder sister and being discarded after a few months, or perhaps years, of incestuous intercourse with the King, bent all the powers of his mind to place her on her hated rival's throne.

Mr. Brewer in all his remarks has been dwelling on the political aspect of the divorce, but it must not be forgotten that there is also a moral aspect of the case. He has passed very lightly over two matters which, from the moral point of view, are of prime importance. Wolsey was fully aware both of the virginity of Catharine when she was married to her second husband and of the King's connexion with Mary Boleyn, which placed the same bar to the marriage with Anne as that which had rendered the Papal dispensation necessary for Henry's marriage with Catharine; and if the Cardinal could once reconcile his conscience to undertake the conduct of the divorce under such circumstances as these, we need not wonder at the unscrupulous methods adopted to bring about the wished-for result. If the story had been a fiction instead of a reality, poetical justice would have demanded some such retribution as that which fell on Wolsey's head. Let us hope that his dying words meant, not what Mr. Brewer suggests, but that he really was repentant of the part he had played in the King's "great matter." And, as we call to mind the saying of the most philosophical of Greek tragedians—

*δράσαντι παθεῖν, τρυγέραν μῦθος τάδε φωνεῖ—*

and recognize its application to the present case, we may adopt the more hopeful view of the relation of sin and suffering opened out to us by Revelation, and take leave of the great Cardinal of York in the words of Sanders:—

*Ac Volsens quidem dignam suæ præteritæ assentationis et superbie mercedem in hoc mundo accepit, idque ut speramus, ne in æternum puniretur.*

#### TAMIL PROVERBS.\*

MANUFACTURED proverbial philosophy is apt to be tedious.

But that which is of spontaneous birth and natural growth, gathered from the lips of a people to whom intellectual forcing-houses are unknown, inspires a deserved interest and may boast of a real value. Much depends, indeed, upon the knowledge and judgment of him who gathers it, who ought to be one thoroughly well acquainted with the people to whom it belongs. Such a gatherer, so far as everything Tamil is concerned, is Mr. Percival, of whose rich collection of Tamil proverbs the first English edition has lately been issued. From it may be obtained, if not a complete view, at least some stray glimpses, of the Tamil side of that "native" mind which so often perplexes the rulers of India. Tamil proverbs are not often picturesque or poetic. Now and then a sentiment is expressed which comes home to our own hearts, as in "A separate hole is to be preferred, though it be but a rat-hole"; and sometimes a touch of nature links the Tamil and the English mind, as in "Those who have not heard the lisping of their own children say that the flute is sweet." But they are by no means devoid of shrewd humour. Setting expression aside, we may detect something like a Poyser-like ring in "A dog imagines everything taken up by the hand is intended for him"; "If a low-bred man obtain wealth, he will carry an umbrella at midnight"; "The ass boasted there was no voice equal to his, and no gait equal to that of his eldest sister"; "Stones are thrown at a fruit-bearing tree"; "No matter where hit, a struck dog lifts up its leg"; "What has a naked mendicant to do with the friendship of a washerwoman?" Somewhat acid are "The green leaves of the palm laughed because the dry ones fell off," and "He who has killed a thousand men is half a doctor." "The mortar went to the tom-tom with its complaints" requires the explanatory remark that the mortar is beaten at one end only, the tom-tom at both ends; but no explanation is needed by "It is said that when the hare went with the tortoise to lay eggs, it strained its eyes out and died." Some of the proverbs might well become current among ourselves. Thus, to Scotch publicans may be recommended, "Having forced one to take toddy, do you seize him by the hair and demand payment?" Captain Cuttle would have delighted in "Though only one item, note it"; and some of Mr. Plimsoll's opponents will appreciate "The shipowner's wife is in good condition as long as the ship is safe, but if that is lost she is a beggar." It may be doubtful whether any English medical practitioner at home would now adopt as his motto "Know the efficacy of mercury by the glow of health on the cheeks"; but in India calomel is looked upon with a more friendly eye than in England. "The drawing back of the he-goat shows that he is about to butt" would have made a good motto for the Circular containing Prince Gortchakoff's famous assertion that "La Russie ne boude pas, elle se recueille."

Some of the specimens in Mr. Percival's collection seem to be drawn from classical sources, as in the case of "God dements

him who is to be destroyed." Others appear to be of Biblical origin, probably set in circulation by missionaries. To this class belong "Is it proper to tie the mouth of the ox that treads out the corn?" and "Can a camel pass through the eye of a needle?" Somewhat suspicious, also, at least in form, is "God is the helper of the helpless child," which corresponds with the Russian "God stands behind the orphan." Perhaps, also, some of the sayings about heathenism which betray a sceptical feeling may have owed their inspiration to a foreign unbeliever. Such, for instance, as "A terrible ascetic, an atrocious cheat," or "The neck of the hypocrite is covered with rosaries." These statements appear to be too straightforward to be of home growth. In the same way, "Will sin be expiated by bathing in the Ganges?" is a strange question to arise in a land where such a story can exist as that of the robber who was sent to the infernal regions for having committed every crime conceivable, and who remained there till one day a crow, which intended to carry a piece of his skull across the Ganges, let it drop into the holy waters; whereupon the robber's sins were expiated in a moment, and he was released from his place of torment. The sarcastic tone seems genuine, however, of such sayings as "Will a dog understand the Vedas, although born in a Brahman village?" or, "Will the temple cat reverence the deity?" or, "Will an ungodly cat ascend to heaven?" And all of these "Protestant" doubts may be the independent result of that turn of the Dravidian mind on which the late Mr. Gover laid such stress in his striking work on "The Folk-songs of Southern India."

But we are on safer ground when we are dealing with references to prevalent popular errors and unshaken heathenish beliefs. Of these many occur. "Even water will forgive a fault three times" refers to the opinion, maintained in other lands as well as in India, that he who falls into deep water rises three times before he is drowned. "When destiny is written on the skull, can you avert it by artifice?" is one of the many questions suggested to the Indian mind by the likeness to writing discovered by it in the sutures of the skull, a writing which is supposed to have been traced by the finger of Fate. In "The goddess of fortune dwells in the feet of the industrious, the goddess of misfortune in those of the sluggish," a moral lesson of the copybook class is conveyed, similar to that inculcated by Nitinerivillakkam's admired stanza, which tells that "When the goddess of prosperity finds that her favours are not appreciated, she introduces her elder sister, the goddess of adversity, and then takes her departure." But those deities are believed to act capriciously in many cases, and without any eye to the reformation of sluggards or other offenders, some people being born to misfortune, as when "The destitute brings forth a female child, and that on a Friday, and under the star Puradam." Friday, however, is not altogether inauspicious, being a day which would have suited Falstaff admirably; one on which it is fortunate to receive money, but unfortunate to pay it; though some lenders indignantly ask, "Is Friday a sufficient excuse for not returning the coin given you to look at?" All through a man's life is he liable to unlucky influences, but death frees him at last; for "What matters it whether the head of a corpse be towards the east or west?" While alive, even some Christian natives are careful to lie down with their heads towards the south. A westerly direction might prove fatal, and the north is the region of Yama, the god of death. In "A Saturday corpse goes not alone" allusion is made to a belief generally held that Hindus often kill and bury a fowl when a death happens on a Saturday. By that means death may be averted from a human victim. Mr. Percival has even heard of a chicken being put into the coffin of "a deceased Native Christian." Many evils of this kind are of course ascribed to demoniacal beings, but sometimes unjustly; for "To a gloomy eye all obscure things are demons," and "To the timid the sky is full of demons." Even such beings, it seems, are not without their feelings, if it be true that "Even a demon will not enter a house that has pooh-poohed him." This remark, however, probably refers, not to a malevolent spirit, but to the generally benevolent house-demon, our Brownie or Hobgoblin, the Russian Domovoy, whose cultus is closely connected with the old worship of ancestors. Another domestic guardian is the lizard, whose chirping, akin to that of our cricket, must never be disregarded, being often fraught with a message of great consequence to the family or individual concerned. So high does it stand in the opinion of the people, that when a person of distinction does anything injurious to his reputation, men say it is "As if a lizard, the oracle of the whole village, should fall into a pot of gruel." Jugglery, Mr. Percival remarks, is generally attributed by the common people to the power of a dwarf demon, to whom the juggler entrusts his "properties" except when he is in actual need of them. But he is obliged to bear in mind that "The dwarf demon returns only that which has been given to it." From demoniacal associations has probably sprung up the prejudice that "A rogue may be trusted, but not a dwarf"; a proverb which, if attended to at the time, might have done good service to Bali, the Daitya ruler of the three worlds, when Vishnu appeared before him under the form of a vâmanâ, or dwarf, and suddenly displayed such striding powers as would have reduced the swiftest seven-leagued boots to despair.

Tamil proverbs relating to women are for the most part complimentary. "A woman of fifty must bend the knee before a boy of five" shows how superior is the man's position to that of the woman. Her lot must indeed be a hard one if it be true that "Even a demon will pity a woman," or, to put the case still more forcibly, "If the word woman be uttered, even a demon will be

\* *Tamil Proverbs, with their English Translation.* By the Rev. P. Percival. Third Edition, being the first English issue. Henry S. King & Co. 1875.



moved with compassion." We learn from Mr. Percival that "Many modern Hindus of the day (1873), though themselves earnest about University honours, evince but very little interest about the intellectual or moral culture of their daughters;" and a proverb asserts that "No matter how skilled a woman may be in numbers and letters, her judgment will be second rate." Another goes even further in its distaste for female education, declaring openly that "Though one wear cloth upon cloth, and is able to dance like a celestial, she is not to be desired if she can press a style on a palm-leaf"—i.e. if she can write. This proverb, it appears, "is in harmony with the sentiments of the majority of Hindus who have received high education in English." The proverbs often gird at wives. It is remembered that "Acquiescence with the wishes of his wife proved fatal to Rāma," and that the consequence of marriage often is that a man is "Fettered with a wife and muzzled with a child." It frequently happens, we are told, that "Having married a wife, the boy has become a fool; having given birth to a child, the damsel has become mean in appearance." A good deal depends, it is true, on the wife's nature, which in its turn depends upon that of her mother. "As is the mother, such is the child; as is the yarn, such is the cloth." But to the daughter's husband the mother is often distasteful, so that he is apt to cry:—"The mother-in-law is frightfully ugly already, and the flour on her face makes her more so." Still, "However cruel a mother-in-law may be, she is nevertheless desirable"; a sentiment akin to that expressed in "Though she be a mere monkey, one should take a wife in one's own tribe." But it would be incorrect to attribute to any distaste for a wife's relations the statement that "The murder of a father may be expiated by residing for six months in the house of one's mother-in-law; for Mr. Percival ascribes it to the fact that "Hindus account it disgraceful in a son-in-law to live in the house of a mother-in-law at her expense," so that it is probably "writ ironical." But the following may be taken literally:—"Although one may live six months with an elder brother, one cannot abide with his wife even half an hour."

One of the proverbs in which an elder brother is mentioned belongs to a class of sayings to which Mr. Percival has been obliged to supply explanatory notes of some length. It states that "The horn of my elder brother is as soft (or harmless) as a shivered stick." The explanation is that in a certain district the foxes imagined that the hare's long ears were formidable horns; so at first they kept at a respectful distance. At length, however, in order to ascertain the truth, they invited a number of hares to a feast, at which each guest was placed between two of the hosts. After a time one of the foxes, feigning a profound admiration for his neighbour's horns, contrived to test their texture by touch, and embodied the result of his experience in the proverb just quoted. Whereupon each fox seized and devoured his defenceless neighbour. A proverb full of meaning, however, asserts that "Even a beast without horns will attack the poor." The meaning of "He is as if a libation had been poured out to the god of fire" would remain obscure were not the reader told that, "When water is poured on burning charcoal, the cinders appear exceedingly black," and therefore the saying is employed as a description of a man who is "naturally very black." Perhaps the Oriental original of Llewellyn's dog Gelert is sufficiently well known to render intelligible the allusion to "The story of killing a mongoose that had done well." But "As the hanging-nest bird gave advice to the monkey" requires its accompanying reference to the story ("graphically told in, I think, *Panchatantra*," says Mr. Percival) of the bird which expostulated with a storm-beaten monkey for not having provided itself with a similar shelter to its own, whereupon the monkey, enraged rather than edified, pulled the bird's nest to pieces. The story is the eighteenth of the first book of *Panchatantra*, but the bird, as the tale is told there, is a sparrow which has built its nest on a mimosa's pendent tendril. In some Tamil variant, no doubt, the "hang-nest" has taken its place. To English readers some of the proverbs on which no comment has been made by the editor will require explanation. "As the monkey perished by drawing out a wedge," for instance, refers to the fate, somewhat similar to that of Milo, brought upon a monkey which removed a wedge from a half-split log without keeping clear of the wooden jaws, which snapped together as soon as the gapping wedge was extracted. In like manner, every reader may not remember that "The blind quarrelled about an elephant they had examined," because each of the two sightless examiners thought he had got hold of the tail, for which one of them had not unnaturally mistaken the trunk. The great Indian epics, also, may still be so little familiar to the generality that "The birth of Sita was the ruin of Lanka" may require to be rendered intelligible by such a paraphrase as "The birth of Helen was the ruin of Troy." But the great majority of the sayings in Dr. Percival's book speak for themselves articulately enough, bearing intelligible and trustworthy evidence, among other things, to the thorough goodness of his work.

#### DEAD MEN'S SHOES.\*

TIME and hard usage will wear out any substance; and the mind has no immunity from the law which governs all forms of matter. Continual grinding takes off the fine edge of the fancy till neither sharpness nor delicacy is left; while a habit of mind, a

trick of thought or expression, so grows by use that what was once a slight characteristic becomes an exaggerated mannerism, and the faculty of self-correction is lost. This remark is specially applicable to Miss Braddon's latest novel—a book in which we look in vain for even the coarse kind of power which redeemed to a certain extent the faults of her earlier works. *Dead Men's Shoes* appears to us the worst book she has produced. It has all her faults and none of her good qualities, and gives one the impression of utter weariness and mental exhaustion. It has not one solitary ray of originality, either in the characters or the plot; and, save that it is written with the technical ease gained by long practice, has no sign to mark it as the work of one who has filled so large a space in modern light literature as the author of *Lady Audley's Secret*.

We are not among those bland believers in universal goodness and virtue who see only sweetness and light wherever they turn; and whom a miser is a man of prudence, and a spendthrift fool takes as a good-hearted fellow and no one's enemy but his own; with whom a hoyden is a child of nature, and an *intrigante* claims credit for her brains and perspicacity; but all the same we trust that the men and women of our daily life are not such fools or knaves as are the personages of this uncomfortable story. There are but three good people in the whole gallery, and two of these are as remarkable for their folly as for their virtue; while all the rest are mean or bad, and are described with that curious air, characteristic of a certain school of cynical delineators, which seems to accept meanness and badness as matters of course, and no worse than other people's goodness. The three sisters of whom the heroine is one are perhaps the least charming young ladies with whom we are acquainted. Sibyl Faunthorpe, the heroine in question, is a weak transcript of Lady Audley. Sensual and selfish, she is unable to bear the poverty to which she finds herself reduced by her secret marriage with a handsome young failure, just as she was unable to bear the petty disagreeables of a governess's life; though in the one case she loves and is loved, and in the other was treated with kindness and consideration. She is of the kind to whom fine dresses and personal luxuries rank before anything else in life, and who do not trouble themselves about the pedantry of virtue—about faith or truth or honour or fidelity—so long as they can have money, and what it brings. As for truth indeed, the author seldom overweighs her characters with an inconvenient amount of this quality; and she scarcely seems to expect her readers to regard falsehood and imposture as vices which degrade and tarnish those who indulge in them. Sibyl Faunthorpe, or Secretan, is one of those to whom falsehood comes as easy as breathing. She deceives every one, and lies with frank impartiality to every one in turn. When a governess at a certain Mrs. Hazleton's, she forms a secret intimacy with Alexis Secretan, a handsome, good-tempered, impetuous young ex-officer, and ends by running away and making a stolen marriage with him, confessed to no one. The uncle who has been to her and her orphan sisters like a father, and those sisters themselves, still believe her to be at Mrs. Hazleton's, where the housemaid manages her correspondence and forwards her letters. After this chapter of deception has been fully worked out, she turns next to deceive her husband. They have fallen into deep distress, and he, with every apparent quality which should ensure success and command esteem, can find nothing better to do than sponge on his parents and borrow of every one who will lend. This kind of thing, with a Finnan haddock for dinner, tea, and supper, all in one, does not suit Sibyl. She urges her husband to borrow yet another ten pounds, which she whispers to him she needs for her approaching confinement, and, when he has taken this sum from a poor map-maker who has laid it aside for his rent, Sibyl, true to her nature, runs away for the second time; has her boy-baby born in a workhouse; leaves him in the care of a farmer's daughter; and presents herself at her old home at Redcastle as Miss Sibyl Faunthorpe, one of the claimants for the love and money of their uncle, Stephen Trenchard, a reputed millionaire lately returned from India. As she is lovely in person, and has pleasant, soft, caressing ways, she charms the old man, who takes her to live with him, and carries on her acted falsehood here for three years. Her husband, naturally distracted at her sudden disappearance, and unable to find her—thrown off the scent as he is by the deliberate lying of the youngest Miss Faunthorpe, aged twelve—asks news of his child; for he can communicate with his wife, though she keeps her whereabouts a secret. Her answer is that it is dead—which is as untrue as the rest. But all this is justified to her own mind by the absolute necessity she is under of escaping from the poverty to which she had condemned herself by her marriage, it being impossible that she should bear the consequences of her own action and be faithful to love and duty. For the third time, too, she runs away, which we think a monotonous kind of thing, and by no means worthy of Miss Braddon's reputation for fertility of expedients; while, as if to repeat the law of triplets on which *Dead Men's Shoes* has been constructed, we have old Stephen Secretan living his life of deception, and Joel Pilgrim living his.

The heroine's two sisters, Marion and Jenny, are even less pleasant and no more commendable than herself. The former indeed is simply odious, being as false as Sibyl, as selfish, as worldly, and as calculating, without her grace, her beauty, or her surface amiability. The two sisters quarrel and snarl as we hope ordinary English sisters do not; while Jenny is *l'enfant terrible* with fancy additions on a large scale. She is "an overgrown girl of twelve, with a very short frock and stalwart legs, encased in brown worsted stockings," who puts her "arms a-kinbo, like Madame Angot's

\* *Dead Men's Shoes*. A Novel. By the Author of "*Lady Audley's Secret*," &c. 3 vols. London: John Maxwell & Co. 1876.

daughter," and talks in a language composed of bad grammar, slang, and impudence in about equal proportions. "Why does she come and loaf about here, then, with her stuckupishness?" She says of her sister Marion, with whom she is quarrelling, "A fat lot (sic) she teaches me!" "She nags at me for an hour and a half by the kitchen clock every morning, and calls that education!" is another little compliment of the same kind flung at the head of the same person; and when asked in what edition of Lindley Murray she finds the verb "to nag," her answer is, to say the least of it, scarcely natural. An uneducated semi-savage of twelve would not have made this answer:—

"It's as good a verb as any other. I nag, thou naggest, he or she nags, generally she; or take it in Latin if you like, Nago, nagas, nagat, nagamus, nagatis, nagant; first conjugation; perfect, nagavi."

Or would she have spoken like this?—

"Oh, very well, if you like to tell crammers, of course I can't help it. My experience of elder sisters is that they may break all the commandments with impunity, and drive a coach and six through the Catechism. I think they wash their hands of Christianity when they're confirmed."

And is "By all that's wonderful" a usual expression of astonishment with a girl of twelve? "If Marion or Hester were in the way now it would be all UP" is another of her polite phrases, just as she is entering on that interview with Alexis Secretan wherein she denies that her sister Sibyl is at home, and improvises the fact of her "governessing in Jersey when we heard from her last—but that's ten months ago, and she's too much of a rolling stone to have stayed so long as that in one place"; adding, as a "graphic touch that she thinks will give reality to her narrative," that "the lady had red hair and used to fly into passions," and that her name was "Mrs. Yokohama Gray." All this is but wretched stuff, wanting in lifelikeness and genuine humour; poor fustian in the place of fun. But the fun all through this book is but poor stuff from first to last. To call a schoolmistress Miss Worrie, and a milliner Miss Eylett, a boot-maker Mr. Korksle, and a shipbuilder Mr. Marlin Spyke; to dub a firm of lawyers Messrs. Gull and Sharpe, and a clergyman Mr. Chasubel; to have one surgeon of the name of Krysis and another of that of Skalpel, while Kabriole is a cabinet-maker and undertaker, and even the banker must be Groshen—to do this is to show but little ingenuity, and no real humour; but when she has done this, Miss Braddon has exhausted her store of wit.

Part of the motive for the deception in which Sibyl indulges, in the hope of getting Uncle Stephen Trenchard's money when he dies, lies in the deadly enmity felt by him towards the whole race and name of Secretan. In early days it seems that this same Stephen Trenchard had supplanted Philip Secretan, the father of Alexis, in the affection of his father, so that the fortune which should have gone to Philip was bequeathed to him. He also cut him out in a love affair; for both of which offences Philip first called him a reptile, then slapped his face, and finally, overmastering him in a struggle, flung him through the brushwood into the quarry, near to which the two men had been fighting. The consequences of this fall were a compound fracture of the leg, a scar across the forehead, and lameness for life; together with the bitterest and most undying hatred to every "viper of that blood," culminating in a melodramatic curse "on him and his seed to the third generation," when Sibyl, anxious to know her ground, tempts her uncle to speak of his old enemy and to tell the story of his own wrongdoing to Philip Secretan and of Philip Secretan's wrongdoing to him. As his are the "dead men's shoes" for which this younger likeness of Lady Audley is waiting, she feels that, after this exposition of his feelings, to tell him that she is married to the son of his former foe would be to ruin everything. Hence she is hard put to it for reasons why she will not accept the attentions either of Mr. Frederick Stormont, who is "a youth of very thin legs, and not much body, who wears a cutaway coat that just clears his hips, and has never been seen in an overcoat, or without a flower in his button-hole," or of the great young man of the place, Sir Wilford Cardonnel, who, gentleman as he is, and of an old English family, does not disdain to talk of "Lady Malvina Vielleroche" as "a good deal too weedy for my money, and I don't like 'em that colour." Him, however, Sibyl makes her confidant, when he asks her to marry him, and thereby secures his friendship and the cessation of his pursuit; but when Joel Pilgrim, a sly, slimy Anglo-Indian half-caste, comes over, and causes Mr. Trenchard evident disgust and annoyance, which is somehow to be atoned for if she marries him as she is to be forced to do, then her resources fail her, and she has nothing for it but fight, for the third time, as we said. All this part of the book is huddled and confused. Who murdered Mr. Trenchard, and how the murder was found out, with every incident connected therewith, belongs to the worst school of writing—sketchy, imperfect, hurried, and unlikely and forced in incident and motive. The circumstances and character of Joel Pilgrim, the old man's half-caste son, simply make a blot on the picture as silly in motive as it is ill done in workmanship—a would-be spectre with a turnip head and a lighted candle inside. In conclusion, we cannot do better than quote for the author's benefit some words of Dean Swift's:—"An experiment very frequent among modern authors is to write upon nothing; when the subject is utterly exhausted, to let the pen still move on; by some called the ghost of wit, delighting to walk after the death of its body. And to say the truth, there seems to be no part of knowledge in fewer hands than that of discerning when to have done."

#### CRANSTOUN'S PROPERTIUS.\*

MR. CRANSTOUN has accomplished no inconsiderable task in his series of elegiac translations. His version of Propertius completes an English reproduction of a poetic constellation which also includes Catullus and Tibullus. It may be that Mr. Cranstoun has simply taken the poets in the order in which they are usually placed; but, if he has gone on the principle of leaving the most difficult, though not the best work, to the last, he has acted wisely. Catullus is surely the greatest poet of the triad, Propertius the hardest to deal with. And so Mr. Cranstoun has done well to take the fullest time to explore his text, and to weigh the endeavours made by scholars at home and abroad to mend its corrupt readings, to rectify its disordered arrangements, and to reduce to something like consistency a poet who has lain under a ban very much because he had come down to us in so perplexing a form. That he has mastered all helpful criticism on the intricacies and dark places of the text will be seen by any who happen to be familiar with Mr. Paley's latest edition of Propertius, or who have studied Mr. Munro's very acute paper on the arrangement of the last Elegy of the Third or Second Book, in the sixth vol. (1875) of the *Journal of Philology*—to say nothing of the commentaries of Barth, Kuinoel, and W. Hertzberg. As is meet in an English translation, the notes are mostly brief, and illustrative of mythological or historical allusions; but the extent of the translator's acquaintance with the best and most recent criticism is easily discernible by a comparison of the translation with the text. An agreeable feature of the work before us is that Mr. Cranstoun has varied his English metres, and afforded the relief of long-ballad metres, heroics, and here and there shorter measures, to the more orthodox elegiac quatrain. Mr. C. R. Moore's meritorious version (Rivingtons, 1870), on recurring to which our opinion of its accuracy and general neatness of translation undergoes no abatement, was rendered tedious by the unvaried use of the heroic couplet, though Sir Edmund Head's one or two experiments in various metres might have taught a translator of Propertius another lesson. In Mr. Cranstoun's work free play is given to the poet's mood and tone at the time of writing, and a sound judgment is shown for the most part in the forms chosen to render passionate and pathetic love elegies, on the one hand, and archæological poems on Roman history and mythology, such as those of his later years, on the other. The result cannot fail to be a wider acquaintance with and appreciation of the Umbrian bard.

Of the birth, parentage, and education of this Roman Callimachus, as he delighted to style himself in token of his early draughts at the fountain of Alexandrian poetry, Mr. Cranstoun gives all that is known with commendable succinctness. He notes at the outset that Propertius was younger than Tibullus and older than Ovid, but not much in either case; not enough younger than the graceful and plaintive Tibullus to have caught the melancholy sweetness with which his own earnest force and genuine fire are in strong contrast, nor so much older than Ovid (though the latter outlived him some forty years) as to have retired from the field of poetry before he was aware of an imitator availing himself of his grand but hastily struck keynotes, and moulding the topics of his Roman and mythic poetry into Fasti and Epistles, and of his love-elegies into the Art of Love. It would be interesting to go further into the history of those essentially Roman poems which were his earliest and seemingly also his latest themes, but which no persuasions of his patron Mæcenas, no atmospheric influences of the Esquiline, where he mixed with Virgil and Horace and must have contracted some of the manners of a courtier, could induce him to prefer to the one constraining inspiration of his muse, the Cynthia of his first and completest Book of Elegies. It seems not improbable that some poems of the Fourth and Fifth Books on legendary subjects mark a date when he had buried Cynthia, and bidden adieu to her successor, of whom we get a glimpse in V. vii. 39-48—when he had relinquished gallantries which, despite his protestations of constancy, were some justification (had she cared to plead them) for Cynthia's infidelities, and turned his attention to graver and more philosophic studies. Yet after all it is a gain to poetry that in the interval between his earliest and latest work, Cynthia and love laid an exacting and importunate embargo on his muse. Unquestionably the sweetness, tenderness, and real, if sometimes rugged, pathos of his love-elegies show more genius than the loftier vein and nobler purpose of his later productions. There is not space in a brief review to sketch even the influence on Propertius's poetry of the brilliant, accomplished, queenly "meretrix"—for such she was, not only in her legal status at Rome, but in her fondness for the wine cup, her passion for dress, and the inordinate avarice whereby she got the means of gratifying it—who is as much associated with the name of Propertius as Lesbia with that of Catullus. But though the fluctuations of love and jealousy, quarrelling and reconciliation, are drawn out to a length which only a versatile fancy could prevent from becoming tedious, somehow one does not tire of recurring to the outbursts of Propertius's jealousy on the alarm of his mistress having gone off once and again with the loutish but lavish Illyrian Prætor—an alarm which, in one instance at least, turns out to be false (I. viii. 33-6)—his clever artifices to dissuade his friends from an introduction which may convert them into rivals, and his threats to go to sea or to kill himself if Cynthia is unkind, though he is quite pre-

\* *The Elegies of Sextus Propertius*. Translated into English Verse, with the Life of the Poet, and Illustrative Notes. By James Cranstoun, B.A. and LL.D., &c. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons, 1875.



pared to stand on his head, or, as he puts it, "to tread heaven's starry floor," when she is favourable to his suit.

Mr. Cranstoun is extremely sceptical—despite the poet's expressed intention of an immediate visit to Athens (iv. xxi.), and his references to a shipwreck in the *Ægean* from which he had escaped, and despite also his graphic picture (in *El. XV. Book I.*) of the dangers and terrors of a storm at sea—as to his having ever left his native shores. "The absence," he argues, "of direct testimony on the point, and even of a single poem bearing directly on foreign travel, is tantamount to evidence against such a supposition" (p. xviii.) By the light of such suggestive criticism it is amusing to read such appeals to Cynthia's feelings as this from the Seventeenth Elegy of the First Book:—

Ah! perish he who first with impious art  
In sail-rigg'd craft dared tempt the unwilling sea,  
'Twere better I had sooth'd my mistress' heart,  
Hard though she was, how peerless still to me!  
Than view this wild and forest-mantled shore.  
And woo the longed-for Twins that calm the wave.  
Then earth had veiled my woes, life's fever o'er,  
And some small stone—love's tribute—marked my grave.

All that this means is that the jealous lover has, in an inopportune visit, stumbled on some of her so-called relatives (cf. *II. vi. 7-8*), or, as he puts it:—

Quinetiam falsos fingis tibi sepe propinquos,  
Oscula nec desunt qui tibi jure ferant.  
Sham cousins often come and kiss thee too,  
As cousins always have a right to do.

Or perhaps her pretor has been availing himself of a holiday at Rome to renew his attentions, and amidst elegiac couplets in praise of the simplicity and purity of "straw-built" Rome, Propertius dilates, in *III. vii.* on the troublesome fact that—

From the Illyrian land the other day  
Your friend the pretor has returned, I learn—  
To you a fruitful source of welcome prey,  
To me of inexpressible concern.

As cruel a pang as any is inflicted when this Roman *Lais* or *Phryne* takes it into her head to run down to Baïe (*El. I. xi.*); not that the poet doubts her honour or constancy, but the place is dangerous. His advice to her—gratuitous, and doubtless unheeded—is, as Mr. Cranstoun renders the couplets (9-10, 11-12):—

Atque utinam mage te remis confisa minutis  
Parvula Lucrina cymba moretur aqua, &c.  
On Lucrine's bosom rather drift and dream,  
And the light skiff with tiny paddles guide,  
Or bathe alone in Teuthras' limpid stream,  
And cleave with pliant arms the yielding tide.

Here it seems more satisfactory, if a little harder, to take "confisa" as the vocative suggested by *te*, than, as Paley would have us take it, as agreeing with *cymba*. The scholar's argument is that this construction is supported by the fact that "a gondola relies on its oars for safe guidance." But the translator sees rather in *cymba* a skiff which, in her lover's mind, Cynthia might conveniently paddle for herself. He wishes her not to have company in her bark or her baths. In one instance, however, we fancy that neither Mr. Cranstoun nor Mr. Moore quite gives full expression to the poet's jealousy—e.g. where, on the eve of one of his imaginary voyages, he reproaches Cynthia with her indifference. One count in the indictment is (*vv. 5-6*):—

Et potes hesternos manibus componere crines,  
Et longa faciem querere desidia,

where *hesternos crines* need not mean "crines qui manserunt ut heri *hesterni*." Instead of translating, as Mr. Cranstoun does—

But airily thou trimm'st the locks thou braidedst yesternorn;

or, with Moore—

Smoothing the locks that lay last night so trim;

we should render the lines:—

Yet airily thou trimm'st thy locks, as thou didst yesternorn,  
And leisurely with tireless hands thy person dost adorn.

The poet just afterwards contrasts with this elaborate dressing Calypso's unkempt locks when she was deserted, in a passage which is a fair specimen of the translator's average work (cf. 9-14; "At non sic Ithaci—conscia lætitiæ"):—

Not so Calypso wept beside the bleak and barren sea,  
What time Clysses left her island-home for Ithakè;  
But many a day with hair unkempt she sat in sorrow lone,  
And wildly to the cruel waves outpour'd her weary moan;  
And though she knew that he had gone for ever from her ken,  
Kept brooding o'er remembered joys she ne'er might know again.

It is somewhat odd that where, in the Sixth Elegy of Book II., the poet is reproaching the mistress whom, by a tacitly accepted fiction, he calls "wife" in the same breath, he comes out with an unwonted burst of morality, happily turned into heroics by his latest translator. It reads in English like a bit of Juvenal, though the form of verse forbids such mistake as to the Latin. The truth was, the poet could be severe on laxity that operated against his own monopoly of license; and the fallacy is in the word *nupta*, in the couplet:—

Templa Pudicitiae quid opus statuisset puellis,  
Si cuius nupta quidlibet esse licet.

But the poet flies off to reprobate the frescoes which, in private houses, discredited the value set on virtue in the public temples (see 27-36):—

The hand that first depicted scenes impure,  
And decked chaste homes with lust's foul garniture,

Corrupted modest maiden's guileless eyes,  
Till then unschooled in immoralities—  
Curse him, who with insidious art could throw  
The veil of rapture o'er the springs of woe!  
Men had no statues in the olden time,  
Nor lined their walls with scenes of pictured crime;  
Now cobwebs veil our fane, with weeds o'ergrown  
The gods deserted lie—the fault's our own.

It is as well to observe that Dean Merivale (*Hist. Rom. Emp.* vi. 249, note) doubts whether this account is anything more than rhetorical, unless referable to a time antecedent to the revival under Augustus.

Scant space remains to speak of the other side of Propertius's poetic genius, that which sprang from his stock of legendary lore. His Elegies, on whatever theme, are rich in ancient mythic fable, and in snatches and reminiscences of Theocritus, Callimachus, and Apollonius. But he deserves distinct recognition (as Mr. Cranstoun puts it) for embodying in Roman Elegy "the time-hoary legends of Rome, the praises of Mæcenas and the glory of Augustus; the untimely fates of Pætus and the young Marcellus; the devoted affection of *Ælia Galla*, and the stainless honour of *Cornelia*." Some of these themes, it is true, belong to his early muse, and are most interesting as germs of Ovid's *Fasti*; but there are others of high purpose, such as the last Elegy of all, the lament over Marcellus, and the Battle of Actium, perhaps of a later date. We extract as a specimen of the second of these Mr. Cranstoun's version of the passage following Apollo's address to Augustus on his victory (*V. vi. 39-68*):—

Proud Cesar shouts from his Italian star  
"The God is proved by godlike deeds of war."  
Old Triton cheers, and all the Nereids raise  
Around the flag of freedom songs of praise.  
Borne in swift bark, the harlot seeks the Nile,  
Her all that's left—to linger on awhile.  
'Tis well: poor triumph that one woman tread  
The streets through which Jugurtha once was led.  
Hence rose this shrine to Actian Phœbus' name,  
Whose every shaft ten hostile ships o'ercame.

No small matter in such a translation is the choice among competing various readings. Mr. Cranstoun's scholarship is accredited by his work in this respect. We cannot doubt his judgment in adopting, at *I. viii. 19*, Munro's emendation—

Ut te prævectam felice Ceraunia remo—

for the old reading *felici prævecta*, which involves making the latter word a vocative. Again, in *I. xviii. 27*, he holds by the MSS. reading, "Divini fontes," against the proposed correction "dumosi montes," no doubt on the strength of Paley's quotation from Theocritus, viii. 33, *ἀγρεα καὶ ποταμοὶ, θεῖον γένος*. So in *El. II.* of the Second Book (11-12) he is certainly safe in adopting *Brimo* for *primo* with Lachmann and Kuinoel, *Brimo* being a name of Proserpine. We are not so sure that he is right in writing "Bœbeis' hallowed tide" in the same passage. Surely it should be "Bœbe's hallowed tide." He is mostly happy too in giving the gist and point of single lines—e.g. *I. vii. 20*:—

Nec tibi subjiciet carmina serus Amor.

Love out of time is ever out of tune;

and, *ibid. 26*:—

Sæpe venit magno fenore tardus Amor.

Love's bills long due bear fearful interest.

But when he renders

Nec nova querendo semper amicus eris (*I. xiii. 12*)

Nor will you always counsel fresh amours,

in a bit of advice to Gallus to stick to a worthy object of choice, he is not so right as Mr. Moore, who hits the sense by translating

Thou must be true if thou wouldst make her thine.

Glancing back over the whole ground, we find such good work predominating in this translation, that, coupling it with Mr. Cranstoun's *Tibullus*, we augur increased credit to Scottish scholarship.

#### MR. AUGUSTUS HARE AND THE SATURDAY REVIEW.

WE have had sent us for review a work by Mr. Augustus Hare called *Cities of Northern and Central Italy*. On examining it, we find that, among the passages which Mr. Hare, according to his custom, copies from other writers, there are many extracts, sometimes of great length, taken from our own columns. These passages have been copied without our leave or knowledge; and to this breach of ordinary courtesy Mr. Hare has added another breach, by making no acknowledgment of the source from which they are taken. Instead of so doing, Mr. Hare, with an impertinence which we should not have looked for in any one claiming the name of scholar or gentleman, has added the name of a writer by whom they have not been acknowledged, and to whom Mr. Hare has therefore no right to attribute them. So flagrant a breach of the rules according to which literary intercourse is usually carried on puts Mr. Hare, as far as his present book is concerned, out of the pale of the society whose laws he has broken. We therefore decline to take any further notice of the *Cities of Northern and Central Italy*.

## GERMAN LITERATURE.

THE present course of events in European Turkey gives much additional interest to a work which would have commanded attention at any time—C. J. Jireček's *History of Bulgaria*.\* The book is not, indeed, characterized by any special graces of style, and the annals of a people which has hardly known any medium between barbarism and servitude are of necessity obscure and unattractive. Many ethnological problems of great interest are nevertheless involved in the discussion of Bulgarian history, while it cannot be forgotten that the present peaceful and oppressed people seemed at one time likely to anticipate the part reserved for the Turks five centuries later. In his views respecting Bulgarian ethnology Herr Jireček principally follows those adopted by Safarik, the great Bohemian scholar, and more recently by Drinov, the most distinguished authority among the Bulgarians themselves. According to these, the Bulgarians were originally a Finnish or Tschudic tribe, who, having broken into a district inhabited by Slavonians, themselves recent immigrants, lost their nationality and language as the Normans did in France. The present Bulgarians, accordingly, are mixed in blood, but Slavonian in all essential characteristics. The fierce and turbulent spirit of the invaders was subdued by their adoption of Christianity, and after a short and brilliant period of conquest, the new kingdom began to exhibit symptoms of degeneracy and decay. One remarkable phenomenon at this period was the spread of Paulicianism, the heir of Manichæism, among the Bulgarians, who thus remotely originated the religious revolt of the Albigenses. Herr Jireček gives an interesting account of the Paulician tenets. The Bulgarians were successively subjugated (1292-1398) by the Tartars, the Servians, and the Turks. From the date of the latter event Bulgaria almost ceases to have an independent history, but episodes of considerable interest continue to occur. Among these may be named the revolt of the Pasha Paswan Oglu at the beginning of this century, and the recent religious disputes which at one time seemed likely to drive the people into the Latin Church. The renovation of the national spirit dates, according to Herr Jireček, from the middle of the eighteenth century. Since that period a national literature has been slowly growing up, and is fully noticed by our author, who has also devoted much attention to earlier phases of literary activity, and to the arrangement of our scanty information respecting the organization of the ancient Bulgarian kingdom.

Under the title of "Antiquity and To-day,"† Professor Curtius has collected the academical discourses pronounced by him in public, with a few addresses delivered on other occasions. The greater part treat of classical subjects, a few have a bearing more or less direct upon the politics of the day. Among the most interesting may be named one on the idea of immortality among the Greeks, in which its general acceptance and its influence upon the conduct of life are strongly maintained; a pleasing dissertation on friendship in antiquity, which is represented as the great corrective of the ethical deficiencies of the popular religion; one on the use and abuse of party spirit; and another on the mutual action and reaction of Germany and Rome. All Professor Curtius's disquisitions are exceedingly elegant and polished, but are more remarkable for these qualities than for originality or profundity. They produce the impression of existing rather for the sake of display than from any urgent need for utterance, and there seems something sophistical in the dexterity with which the orator, from whatever point he may start, manages to work round to the glorification of Christianity, Prussia, or both.

Dr. Werner's monograph on "the Venerable Bede"‡ is a most excellent and instructive, and also a very readable, account of this great intellectual luminary of one of the darkest periods in the history of Europe. It is from this point of view that Bede is here principally considered, the events of his life being but briefly related. A preliminary chapter, however, deals with the history of the English Church up to his time, and renders full justice to that spirit of propaganda of which the missionary exertions of that day are but a phase, and which was then, as now, among the principal characteristics of Englishmen. Bede's intellectual labours are distributed under four heads; his cultivation of poetry and promotion of philological studies among his countrymen; his cosmography and astronomy, the latter including his system of chronology and attempts at the settlement of the ecclesiastical calendar; his commentaries on Scripture; and his ecclesiastical histories and biographies. The whole, more especially the scientific section, affords a most lively picture of the intellectual condition of the Western world in Bede's age. Great pains have been taken to determine the extent of his obligations to classical literature, and his own literary influence on his friends and correspondents, his disciples, and subsequent writers. The volume is the first of an intended series on the illustrious writers of the middle ages.

Luther's captivity in the Wartburg is the subject of a pretty little monograph by A. Witzschel§, framed after the Reformer's own statements in his correspondence during the time. Nothing novel is elicited, of course, but the compiler has perfectly succeeded

in giving a clear and consecutive detail of a very interesting episode in Luther's life. A narrative by J. Kessler of a casual encounter with Luther "at the Black Bear in Jena" is appended, which represents the Reformer in his most genial light.

Dr. Langen\*, an Old Catholic theologian of great learning, has written a treatise on the question of the procession of the Holy Spirit, and on the best manner of allaying the controversy between the Eastern and Western Churches on this subject. He remarks that the New Testament is wholly silent on the matter, and that the development of dogma on the point must be traced through the writings of the Fathers. The general result of his investigation is unfavourable to the "filioque," which was, he says, introduced by Augustine as a corollary from certain assumed premises, not as an article of faith. The present Greek position is a corresponding aberration on the other side, but cannot, any more than the Latin, be regarded as heretical. The correct formula is *ὁ θεὸς πατὴρ υἱὸς*, and there is, he considers, no reason why all parties should not agree upon it.

"Seedcorns of Truth"† is the title of a series of sermons in which the cardinal points of Christian theology are successively propounded in a somewhat dry and dogmatic form, but in a very liberal spirit.

The sermons of the late Professor Vilmar‡ have, it appears, for the most part been already published, but have long since disappeared from circulation. They were worth reprinting, as well as the occasional addresses which accompany them in this edition. They are distinguished by power and animation of expression, as well as by a haughty and uncompromising championship of Lutheran orthodoxy, of which Vilmar was perhaps the most characteristic representative. An apology is offered for the republication of the last address in the volume, a eulogium on the Presbyterian system of Church government, which is stated to be at variance with the ultimate conclusions of the speaker.

Professor Bonitz's essays on Plato§ comprise thorough analyses of the Gorgias, Theætetus, Euthydemus, and Sophistes, together with less elaborate commentaries on the dialogues commonly read in German schools, the Laches, Euthyphron, Protagoras, and Phædrus. A disquisition on the nature of the argument in the Phædo for the immortality of the soul is appended. The complexion of the proof alleged, in Professor Bonitz's opinion, is not ethical, but speculative, and depends wholly on the Platonic doctrine of Ideas.

A translation of the hymns of the Rig Veda||, if reasonably accurate, must obviously be a great boon to literature. Herr Ludwig's labours are based upon the St. Petersburg Dictionary, and what he describes as the epoch-making work of Roth. His versions, at all events, almost invariably offer a plausible and coherent sense. They are to be followed by a commentary. He has found it necessary to break up the arrangement of the original texts, and redistribute them in nine divisions. The style of his translation is dignified and unadorned; it was perhaps scarcely necessary to exaggerate its archaism by the peculiarities of his German orthography.

Philipp Spiller¶ has reproduced in an extended form his ideas on the æther as the universal principle of existence. It may be doubted whether, after all, he has more to advance on the question in its physical aspect than is implied in Sir William Thomson's pregnant remark that matter is probably not an ultimate, but a mode of motion of a primitive fluid. In its religious and ethical aspect Spiller's system agrees substantially with other varieties of Pantheism. The book manifests prodigious erudition, and a bewildering facility of reference and citation.

A collected edition of E. von Hartmann's miscellaneous essays\*\* begins with what will no doubt prove the most interesting of all, an autobiographic sketch. The glimpses afforded both of Prussian school-life and of garrison-life are highly graphic and suggestive. It is curious to find that the philosopher possessed such a natural gift for drawing and music as to have successively formed the project of devoting his life first to one and then to the other of these pursuits. He was deterred by the discovery of his inability to give full expression to his ideas in either. Some would say that it is easier to be an amateur in philosophy than in art; and, without going to this length, it may still be admitted that Hartmann's system in its latest phase bears the impress of cool sound sense almost as evidently as his master Schopenhauer's does of erratic genius. Hartmann's original pessimism has virtually disappeared; for practical purposes this is a great advance; but at the same time there is a total absence of the intellectual qualities which are inseparable from even the most perverse paradoxes of his predecessor.

\* *Die Trinitarische Lehrdifferenz zwischen der abendländischen und der morgenländischen Kirche.* Von Dr. Joseph Langen. Bonn: Weber. London: Williams & Norgate.

† *Samenkörner der Wahrheit.* Von H. Späth. Oldenburg: Schulze. London: Trübner & Co.

‡ *Predigten und geistliche Reden.* Von A. F. C. Vilmar. Marburg: Elwert. London: Asher & Co.

§ *Platonische Studien.* Von H. Bonitz. Berlin: Vahlen. London: Asher & Co.

|| *Der Rigveda, oder die heiligen Hymnen der Brähmana.* Zum ersten Male vollständig ins Deutsche übersetzt, mit Commentar und Einleitung, von Alfred Ludwig. Bd. 1. Prag: Tempsky. London: Williams & Norgate.

¶ *Die Urkraft des Weltalls.* Von Philipp Spiller. Berlin: Stuhr. London: Nutt.

\*\* *Gesammelte Studien und Aufsätze gemeinverständlichen Inhalts.* Von Eduard von Hartmann. Lief. 1. Berlin: Duncker. London: Williams & Norgate.

\* *Geschichte der Bulgaren.* Von Constantin J. Jireček. Prag: Tempsky. London: Williams & Norgate.

† *Alterthum und Gegenwart. Gesammelte Reden und Vorträge.* Von Ernst Curtius. Berlin: Hertz. London: Asher & Co.

‡ *Bede der Ehrwürdige und seine Zeit.* Von Dr. Karl Werner. Wien: Braumüller. London: Williams & Norgate.

§ *Luther's Aufenthalt auf der Wartburg.* Nach seinen eigenen Mittheilungen. Von A. Witzschel. Wien: Braumüller. London: Williams & Norgate.



Professor Grassman's lexicon to the Rig Veda\* is principally based on the St. Petersburg Sanskrit Dictionary, the surpassing importance of which is fully acknowledged. It is evidently very carefully executed, copious in the meanings of words given, and precise in the definition of them. The Roman character is employed throughout.

The intention of D. Sanders's Orthographical German Dictionary† is to determine the correct spelling of words derived from foreign sources, and of others of which the orthography is irregular or capricious. The object is well worthy of the labour, but it may be doubted whether any authority less absolute than Prince Bismarck's will suffice to produce the desired uniformity.

Lieutenant Hoffmeister's sketch of European Russia‡ is chiefly prepared from the military point of view. This very circumstance, however, has led him to devote especial attention to the moral qualities of the classes from which the army is chiefly recruited, and to the legislative and social arrangements by which these are influenced, inasmuch that his book comes nearer than might have been expected to a general survey of the Empire.

The "Sonzogno trial," § a recent Italian *cause célèbre*, loses nothing of its piquancy or painfulness in the report of Herr W. Wyl, who has, in fact, set the brethren of his craft the worst possible example of pandering to the vulgar love of sensation and scandal. His report is by no means confined to a faithful account of the proceedings, but is seasoned with all manner of irrelevant anecdotes and gratuitous insinuations against leading public characters in Italy. The case itself is singular and dramatic. Sonzogno, a man of rank and station, was a leading Italian Liberal of the most extreme section, and editor of a journal at Rome particularly obnoxious to the Government. His political associate Luciani, having formed a criminal connexion with his wife, procured his assassination by representing that the crime would be acceptable to Garibaldi. It is not much to the credit of Italian justice that Luciani's dupes should have received as severe a punishment as himself.

There is more chat than hypochondria in Gerhard von Amyntor's "Chats of a Hypochondriac."¶ They treat for the most part, indeed, of social foibles and perversities; but there is no bitterness in the writer's satire, nor austerity in his reproof. They are in general lively and entertaining, display considerable powers of observation, and the only thing to be said against them is that they have hardly sufficient weight or compass to deserve collection in so substantial a volume.

Professor Max Müller has made the world a charming present in his neat little edition of the recently discovered correspondence of Schiller with Christian, Duke of Augustenburg.¶ The charm does not so much consist in the letters themselves as in the incident from which they originated, and in Professor Müller's own graceful and feeling commentary. Schiller, like Wordsworth, owed exemption from the pecuniary cares which might otherwise have stifled his genius to the generous admiration of a friend. His Raisley Calvert was the Danish Prince of Augustenburg, who, at the instigation of the poet Baggesen, and in concert with Count Schimmelmann, offered the struggling bard support in a letter which Professor Müller justly extols as a model of liberal and delicate kindness. The restorative influence of this generosity on Schiller's fortunes and energies may possibly be exaggerated, but there can be no doubt that this influence and his gratitude were alike considerable. He repaid the obligation by a series of letters, the most important of which are at present missing. The remainder, it must be said, are chiefly valuable as the text of Professor Müller's interesting disquisition on the literary and social contrasts between the age of Goethe and Schiller and our own, and on the relation of patronage to genius. The details of the fête got up by Baggesen in Schiller's honour afford a curious mixture of the admirable and the absurd. The ear of Denmark had been rankly abused by a false report of Schiller's death, and the living poet was duly bewailed accordingly.

Professor Bergmann, of Strasburg, publishes a translation, with a copious commentary, of three of the most mystical poems of the Edda \*\*, prophecies of the last things according to the Norse theology. The translations are very fine, inspired with the enigmatical grandeur of the original; the merits of the commentary can only be appreciated by specialists. Professor Bergmann claims to have materially advanced the exegesis of the Eddas, and regrets that, owing to his long residence in France, his labours should as yet have attracted comparatively little attention in Germany.

"The Witch," by Arthur Fitger ††, is a stirring prose tragedy,

\* *Wörterbuch zum Rig-Veda.* Von Hermann Grassman. Leipzig: Brockhaus. London: Asher & Co.

† *Orthographisches Wörterbuch.* Von Daniel Sanders. Leipzig: Brockhaus. London: Asher & Co.

‡ *Das Europäische Russland. Militairische Landes- und Volks-Studie.* Von Hoffmeister. Berlin: Mittler. London: Williams & Norgate.

§ *Mein Tagebuch im Prozess Sonzogno.* Bericht von W. Wyl. Zürich: Verlags-Magazin. London: Nutt.

¶ *Hypochondrische Plaudereien.* Von Gerhard von Amyntor. Elberfeld: Lucas. London: Williams & Norgate.

¶ *Schiller's Briefwechsel mit dem Herzog Friedrich Christian von Schleswig-Holstein Augustenburg.* Eingeleitet und herausgegeben von F. Max Müller. Berlin: Paetel. London: Trübner & Co.

\*\* *Weggewohnt's Lied. Der Odins Raben, Orakelung, und Der Scherins Voraussicht.* Drei eschatologische Gedichte der Saemunds Edda, kritisch hergestellt, übersetzt und erklärt, von F. W. Bergmann. Strasburg: K. J. Trübner. London: Trübner & Co.

†† *Die Hexe.* Trauerspiel von Arthur Fitger. Oldenburg: Schulze. London: Trübner & Co.

crowded with character and incident, but too much like a dramatized novel, nor are the characters very vividly outlined. The scene is laid in North Germany about the close of the Thirty Years' War.

The February number of the *Rundschau*\* begins with a pretty story from the Russian of Turgenef, the most recent production of his pen. A youth receives a present of a watch, which involves him in all kinds of scrapes; the *dénouement*, however, is agreeable. In an essay on Paul Heyse as a writer of fiction, George Brandes, the eminent Danish critic, deservedly lays stress on the moral harmony of Heyse's writings, and on his constant endeavour to delineate noble characters, the object of whose lives is to win their way to internal peace. The account of Leontjeff, the author, along with his friend Katkoff, of the intellectual revolution which impressed a loyal instead of a democratic character on Russian journalism, is concluded. Julius Rodenberg continues his sketches of his English tour. He is especially impressed by the underground railway, and notices minutely such metropolitan phenomena as the regeneration of Leicester Square, the demolition of Northumberland House, and the invalid condition of Temple Bar. Herr Kapp, a high authority on shipping matters, relates the story of the *Deutschland* at considerable length, and dwells particularly on the hardship of the English system of cross-examination upon German witnesses, especially uneducated seamen.

\* *Deutsche Rundschau.* Herausgegeben von Julius Rodenberg. Jahrg. 2, Hft. 5. Berlin: Paetel. London: Trübner.

ERRATUM.—The name of the writer of the "Précis of the Provisions of the Mutiny Act and Articles of War," noticed in our issue of the 11th instant, is not Major Clifford, but Major CLIFFORD PARSONS.

#### NOTICE.

We beg leave to state that we decline to return rejected Communications; and to this rule we can make no exception.

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444 West Strand, February 1, 1876.

LEWIS FOCKE, } Hon. Sec.  
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**ECCLIASTICAL COMMISSIONERS for ENGLAND.**

REGULATIONS RESPECTING GRANTS OUT OF THE COMMON FUND.

MARCH 1876.

I. The Ecclesiastical Commissioners for England are prepared to endow a limited number of new Churches to which Districts have been or shall have been legally assigned since the Third day of April, 1871, containing in each case, at the date of such assignment, a population of not less than 4,000 persons, and not being situated within the limits of the ancient Parish of Manchester (a), provided that the formation of any such District shall not involve the reduction below 4,000 persons of the population of any other Benefice receiving a Grant from the Commissioners on the ground of population; the Grants to Churches of this character which may be in public patronage (b) to be made, to the extent of £200 a year, unconditionally, and to those in private patronage, to the extent of £100 a year, upon condition that an Endowment of equal value be provided from non-eccliaistical sources.

No application will be eligible for consideration under this Regulation, unless and until a Church, in which at least one-half of the sittings are free, shall have been built and consecrated, and a separate District shall have been legally assigned thereto, with authority to the Incumbent to perform all the offices of the Church.

N.B.—The New Districts which have been already formed in expectation of receiving endowment under such a Regulation as the foregoing, and which fulfil all the conditions attaching thereto, are sufficiently numerous to absorb the whole of the funds which the Commissioners are able to appropriate to this class of Grants during the current year.

II. The Commissioners are further prepared to receive, on or before the 30th of November, 1876, offers of Benefactions of not less than £100 each in capital value towards making better provision for the cure of souls, with a view to such offers being met by the Board with Grants during the Spring of 1877.

N.B.—It must be clearly understood that the Commissioners are not pledged to meet all such offers, the means at their disposal being limited in amount.

The distribution of these Grants will be made subject to the following general Regulations:

1. A Benefaction from Trustees, or from any Diocesan or other Society or body of contributors, as well as from any individual, whether such Benefaction consist of money, land, house, site for a house, tithe, or rentcharge, any or all, may be met by a Grant from the Commissioners; but neither a Site for a Church, nor a Grant from Queen Anne's Bounty, nor a Benefaction already met by such a Grant, nor money borrowed of Queen Anne's Bounty, nor a charge upon the revenues of any Ecclesiastical Corporation aggregate or sole (except as undermentioned (c)), nor any Endowment, Bequest, Gift, or Benefaction already secured to a Benefice or Church, nor any temporary interest in or charge upon property—can be met by a Grant from the Commissioners.

2. The Grants will consist of Perpetual Annuities in all cases, except those in which, with a view to the provision of Parsonage Houses, or for other reasons, it may appear to the Commissioners to be especially desirable that Capital should be voted.

3. No single Benefice or proposed District will be eligible to receive a Grant of a larger sum than £50 per annum, or of £1,500 in capital, and in no case will the Grant exceed in value the Benefaction offered, the Grant, if it consist of a perpetual annuity, being estimated as worth thirty years' purchase.

4. Districts proposed to be formed out of, or Chapelrys proposed to be severed from, existing Cures, but the formation or severance of which shall not have been legally completed on or before the 1st of January, 1877, will not be eligible to receive Grants, except in cases where the amount of Benefaction offered would, with the Commissioners' Grant, be sufficient to provide an endowment of £150 per annum, or to raise to that amount any endowment previously secured.

5. In selecting cases priority will be given to those which, having regard to income and population, shall appear to be the most necessitous.

6. A Benefice held contrary to the provisions of the Pluralities Acts as applicable to new Incumbents will not be considered eligible for a Grant.

7. A Benefice which has received a Grant is not disqualified, on the offer of a further Benefaction, from competing for a further Grant in any subsequent year.

8. The Benefaction, if in cash, and the Grant, if it consists of capital, may, in the case of existing Benefactions, with the consent of the Commissioners and the Bishop of the Diocese, be laid out in the purchase of land, or tithe rentcharge, within the Parish or District, or in the purchase or erection of a Parsonage House.

9. Every application must contain a specific offer of a Benefaction, and must reach the Commissioners' Office on or before the 30th of November, 1876, in order to render it eligible to compete for a Grant in the Spring of 1877; and in the event of a Grant being made to a Benefice, the Benefaction, if in money, must be paid to the Commissioners on or before the 1st of May following.

All Communications should be addressed to the SECRETARY, Ecclesiastical Commission, 10 Whitehall Place, London, S.W., and the postage prepaid.

By Order of the Board,

GEORGE PRINGLE, Secretary.

a Having regard to the provisions of "The Parish of Manchester Division Act," by which a special fund is created for the endowment and augmentation of Cures within the parish of Manchester, Part I. of these Regulations will be considered as inapplicable to that parish.

b Videlicet: In the patronage of Her Majesty, either in right of the Crown or of the Duchy of Lancaster, of the Duke of Cornwall, of any Archbishop or Bishop, of any Dean and Chapter, Dean, Archdeacon, Prebendary, or other dignitary or officer in any Cathedral or Collegiate Church, or of any Rector, Vicar, or Perpetual Curate, as such, or of a body of Trustees not possessing power to sell or transfer the right of presentation.

c Where the Incumbent of a Benefice is willing to surrender a portion of the Endowment of such Benefice towards augmenting the Income of a District Church, such surrender will be treated as a Benefaction of a sum equal to seven years' purchase of the net annual income so surrendered.

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